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MEMOIRS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

GEORGE, LORD LYTTELTON,

FROM 1734 TO 1773.

COMPILED AND EDITED

BY ROBERT PHILLIMORE,

LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

" Cujus erant mores, qualis facundia, mite
" Ingenium." . . . . . .—*Juven. Sat. IV.*

" Letters of affairs from such as manage them or are privy to them, are of all others the best instructions for history, and to a diligent reader the best histories in themselves."—*Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning, Human and Divine, Second Book.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1845.

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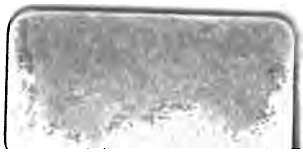

1748. opposition with some, who, like Sir John Hynde Cotton had deserted their party. The leaders in the House of Commons were Lord Egmont and Bubb Doddington, to whom the Prince had promised a peerage, and whom, on his quitting the Government and his place of Treasurer of the Navy, he had made Treasurer of the Chambers. But by far the ablest as well as the most respected of the parliamentary chiefs was Dr. (afterwards Sir George) Lee, a civilian of great eminence and profound learning, a politician of acknowledged integrity, and a debater of great power. The Prince was also at this time at enmity with the Duke of Cumberland, and the King's partiality for the younger embittered the opposition of the elder brother. The meetings at Leicester House became frequent and notorious, and provoked the wrath equally of the King and his ministers. The breach was widened by Bolingbroke. The councils of Leicester House were (till his death, in 1751) chiefly influenced by this veteran and indefatigable intriguer, who now more than seventy years old, resided at Battersea, and was the bosom counsellor of the Prince.

Excluded by the general distrust of all parties from any share in government, he still lent no mean aid to

Prince of Wales, the project, afterwards attempted to be executed by Lord Bute and George the Third, of forming two systems of Administration, one in the real confidence of the Crown, the other merely ostensible, to perform the official and executory duties of Government. This system of a "double cabinet" and "King's-men," is now best known from the immortal writings in which it is denounced. See p. 639 of this volume.

any cause which he chose to espouse by the magic of his pen. Soon after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he published some remarks on the melancholy state, as he thought proper to describe it, of the nation; and not long afterwards he gave to the world his "Idea of a Patriot King," a work which has been much celebrated, and will probably be always read for the eloquence of its language and the beauty of its style, though inferior in these respects to his letter to Sir W. Wyndham, and perhaps also to the Dissertation on Parties, but which can scarcely be said to have any other merit. It propounds a theory of government not very intelligible or consistent, and perfectly impracticable, if desirable; the Patriot King is, of course, the Rising Sun, Prince Frederick. A great part of this essay, as of his historical works, is a mere vehicle for the abuse of Walpole's policy. It is not, I believe, generally, if at all, known that this book was originally dedicated to Lyttelton, at least I have never found the fact asserted in print: but the following letters leave no doubt upon the subject. The copy of the first, as well as the endorsement, is in Lord Lyttelton's hand-writing. 1748.

"This letter was writ upon the publication of Lord Bolingbroke's Idea of a Patriot King, which was originally writ in the form of a letter to me. I being then in the Prince's service. I have it in manuscript as it was writ, and in my Lord's own hand."

1748. " London, April y^e^ 14th, 1748.

" My Lord,

" I am prevented by unavoidable business from waiting on you this morning, as I intended to do, in order to talk with your Lordship upon the subject about wh ch you sent Mr. Mallet to me, which I have thought much upon since, and with no little uneasiness. Any publick mark of your Lordship's esteem and partiality for me, as it would be the highest honour, so it would be the greatest pleasure to me; but as I am now in the most intimate connection of friendship with many of the best and nearest friends of the late Lord Orford, and have even received obligations from some of his family, who would be extreamly offended at a work which so severely reflects on his memory being now published and addressed to me, it is an honour, which, however flattering and agreeable it would be to me in other respects, I am on that account compelled to decline. I must, therefore, though with the utmost reluctance, beg of your Lordship, if you resolve to publish it now, that you would leave out the part that relates to me; but I should much rather wish, and, if I might presume to judge for your Lordship, should think it more eligible for you yourself, to defer the publication of it to a more proper time. That a very disagreeable use will be made of it I am very sure, and there is a great difference as to the consequences and effects of it in the world, between an imperfect copy of it being stole into print in a magazine, and this avowed and authorised publication, which will draw the attention of all mankind.

But in this point your Lordship must think for your- 1748.
self. I only entreat you to forgive the necessity which I am under of declining, in my situation, what in any other I should most ardently wish; and to believe me, in all situations, with the most perfect respect and most grateful sense of your favours to me,

" My Lord,
" Your Lordship's
" most obliged
" and most faithful humble servant,
" G. LYTTELTON."

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO MR. LYTTELTON.

" Battersea, April 15th, 1748.

" DEAR SIR,

" I WOULD not answer your letter that came yesterday to my hands, till I could tell you, as I can now do, that every word will be left out of the papers which have given you so much uneasiness, and out of the introduction to them that may even seem to have been addressed to you. I have had my uneasiness too; that of being forced to reveal the turpitude of a man with whom I had lived long in the intimacy of friendship, and that of being obliged by your commands to suppress any marks of my esteem and affection for you. I have obeyed you; and it was reasonable that I should: but I cannot take your advice, nor think it eligible for me to defer the publication of these papers to a more proper time. They should not have been made public at all, if I could have helped it. But since they must be made so,

1749. what time can be more proper for me to publish them than the present? I must either suffer them to be sent abroad uncorrected, in such a manner as I would not have published them myself, and with every thing in them which you are so desirous to have left out, or I must do what I am doing, let them appear corrected and less unfit for the public eye. If any use disagreeable to others be made of this forced publication, I shall be sorry for it. As to its consequences and effects relative to myself, I am under no concern. For though age and infirmities press me hard, and I stand almost alone in the world, yet I find vigour enough remaining to defend myself against any attack, with truth, reason, and the cause of this country on my side. Thus I think for myself, and, I hope, not unreasonably.

"As to you, I shall continue to think as I have always thought, with true esteem and a pure affection in whatever situation you are, and shall profess myself as long as I live,

"Dear Sir,

"Your faithful friend,

"and most obedient humble servant,

"B."

This is the last letter which the Hagley MSS. contain of this extraordinary man, who died in December, 1751, and who at one time had acquired considerable ascendancy over the mind of Lyttelton, and to whose talents he paid to the last, unfeigned homage. His character was drawn by a common friend and keen

observer, Lord Chesterfield. It was on the occasion 1749.
of sending to his son a copy of the Patriot King.

"I desire (he writes)* that you will read it over and over again, with particular attention to the style, and to all those beauties of Oratory with which it is adorned. Till I read that book, I confess I did not know all the extent and powers of the English language. Lord Bolingbroke has both a tongue and pen to persuade; his manner of speaking in private conversation, is full as elegant as his writings; whatever subject he either speaks or writes upon, he adorns it with the most splendid eloquence; not a studied or laboured eloquence, but such a flowing happiness of diction, which (from care perhaps at first) is become so habitual to him, that even his most familiar conversation, if taken down in writing, would bear the Press, without the least correction either as to method or style. If his conduct, in the former part of his life, had been equal to all his natural and acquired talents, he would most justly have merited the epithet of all-accomplished. He is himself sensible of his past errors: those violent passions, which seduced him in his youth, have now subsided by age; and, take him as he is now, the character of all-accomplished is more his due than any man's I ever knew in my life.

"But he has been a most mortifying instance of the violence of human passions, and of the weakness of the most exalted human reason. His virtues and his vices, his reason and his passions, did not blend themselves by a gradation of tints, but formed a shining and

* Chesterfield's Letters, clxxv.

1749. sudden contrast. Here the darkest, there the most splendid colours; and both rendered more shining from their proximity. Impetuosity, excess, and almost extravagancy, characterized not only his passions, but even his senses. His youth was distinguished by all the tumult and storm of pleasures, in which he most licentiously triumphed, disdaining all decorum. His fine imagination has often been heated and exhausted with his body, in celebrating and deifying the prostitute of the night; and his convivial joys were pushed to all the extravagancy of frantic Bacchanals. Those passions were interrupted but by a stronger, Ambition. The former impaired both his constitution and his character, but the latter destroyed both his fortune and his reputation.

"He has noble and generous sentiments, rather than fixed reflected principles of good-nature and friendship; but they are more violent than lasting, and suddenly and often varied to their opposite extremes, with regard even to the same persons. He receives the common attentions of civility as obligations, which he returns with interest; and resents with passion the little inadvertencies of human nature, which he repays with interest too. Even a difference of opinion upon a Philosophical subject, would provoke, and prove him no practical Philosopher, at least.

"Notwithstanding the dissipation of his youth, and the tumultuous agitation of his middle age, he has an infinite fund of various and almost universal knowledge, which, from the clearest and quickest conception, and happiest memory, that ever man was blessed

with, he always carries about him. It is his pocket- 1749.
money, and he never has occasion to draw upon a bank for any sum. He excels more particularly in History, as his historical works plainly prove. The relative Political and Commercial interests of every country in Europe, particularly of his own, are better known to him, than perhaps to any man in it; but how steadily he has pursued the latter, in his public conduct, his enemies, of all parties and denominations, tell with joy.

" He engaged young, and distinguished himself in business; and his penetration was almost intuition. I am old enough to have heard him speak in Parliament. And I remember, that, though prejudiced against him by party, I felt all the force and charms of his eloquence. Like Belial in Milton, " he made " the worse appear the better cause."* All the internal and external advantages and talents of an Orator are undoubtedly his. Figure, voice, elocution, knowledge; and, above all, the purest and most florid diction, with the justest metaphors, and happiest images, had raised him to the post of Secretary at War, at four-and-twenty years old; an age at which others are hardly thought fit for the smallest employment.

" During his long exile in France, he applied himself to study with his characteristical ardour; and there he formed, and chiefly executed the plan of a great philosophical work. The common bounds of human knowledge are too narrow for his warm and aspiring imagination. He must go *extra flammantia mœnia*

* Sic in orig.

1748 9. *Mundi*, and explore the unknown and unknowable regions of Metaphysicks; which open an unbounded field for the excursions of an ardent imagination; where endless conjectures supply the defect of unattainable knowledge, and too often usurp both its name and influence.

"He has had a very handsome person, with a most engaging address in his air and manners: he has all the dignity and good breeding which a man of quality should or can have, and which so few, in this country at least, really have.

"He professes himself a Deist; believing in a general Providence, but doubting of, though by no means rejecting (as is commonly supposed) the immortality of the soul, and a future state.

"Upon the whole, of this extraordinary man, what can we say, but alas, poor human nature!"*

Directly after the peace Mr. Pelham proceeded with the great object of his administration, relieving the country from taxes, then considered, in happy ignorance of the future, to be enormous. He effected this by the wise and statesman-like measure, (imitated since these pages were first written, by the present Government) of reducing the *interest* on the public debt. In 1717, the interest had been lowered from six to five—in 1727, from five to four per cent average. The accumulation

* In another letter, he writes:—"Lord Bolingbroke joined all the politeness, the manners, and the graces of a courtier, to the solidity of a statesman, and to the learning of a pedant; he was "*omnis homo*."—Chesterfield's Letters, vol. iii. ccxl.

of capital since the accession of George the Second, had brought down the actual rate of interest to three per cent., and to this rate Mr. Pelham carefully, and without violence, reduced the interest on the national debt. The public credit of Great Britain was immediately raised on the Continent, and the fame and success of the measure excited, even as a similar measure has done in our own day, the envy and admiration of Europe. Nevertheless Mr. Pelham began to experience considerable difficulties in the conducting his measures of Government. The Duke of Bedford, Secretary of State, and his friend Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, began to cabal with the Duke of Cumberland and the Princess Amelia, who had been offended with the Duke of Newcastle; while the jealousy of this selfish man induced him to make partisans in the Government against his brother. Pitt began at this time rather to court the Duke, while Fox attached himself to Mr. Pelham: at the same time the Cobham party, which, with the exception of Lyttelton and Pitt, were never, perhaps, identified with the administration, opened a secret communication with the Prince of Wales. Before the close of the year 1750, Lyttelton's health seems to have been much affected. The following letters of Mr. Pitt are interesting from the amiable light which they throw upon his character. The first is to William Lyttelton. 1750.

"South Lodge, July 14th, 1750.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"I HAVE been running about ever since I received the honour and pleasure of your very obliging

1750. letter, or I should have returned you my best thanks for it sooner. I am for some days set down quiet in my little retreat of Enfield; and find myself so absolute an hermit, that I hardly know how to write to a man of the great world, fresh from the Court of Compiegne, and consequently filled with all that is great and gallant. While I am sitting in much leisure under my tree, I have the pleasure of thinking that you are much better employed; whether it be *à courir le cerf* with the King; or if for gentler sports you quit the savage field, and are forming your style to purity and elegance, in the delightful school of some Court beauty,—however you are occupy'd, I have the satisfaction to know that you are on the road to every accomplishment travelling is intended for, and I hope you find the journey pleasurable. I desire you will sometimes let me hear from you, and if I am an irregular correspondent, you must impute it to my rambling about: for I lead so vagabond a life, that no letter scarcely reaches me so soon as it might. Believe me, my dear Lyttelton, my sincere wishes, and very affectionate esteem go along with you wherever you are. I will end without form.

"Your's most faithfully and truly,

"W. PITT."

The two next are to the subject of these memoirs.

"Pay Office, Sept. 20th, 1750.

"MY DEAR LYTTELTON,

"I AM infinitely concerned at the present low state of your health: and did immediately upon the reading your letter send for Burgess, who I

thought a good judge of your constitution, to consult what might be properest for you to do; whether to go southward or return to England: he is strongly of opinion that a more northerly climate is best for you; that is, the air of England; and advises that you should lose no time in leaving Paris, delay in cases of this hectic nature being sometimes of great consequence. Remembering how George and Harry Grenville had been recovered by elixir of vitriol, I ask'd Burgess if it was proper for you; and he recommends it of all things, provided you have no complaint upon you of the bowels: this elixir of vitriol may be taken twice a-day in winter (provided the water be good and not of the Seine,) from forty, fifty, sixty, to a hundred drops; you are desired not to make great journeys, and if you can bear it, get out of your chaise, on horseback, and gently ride for half a post, now and then, if the weather be good. Let me add my earnest desires to Burgess's advice to you to lose no time in leaving Paris. I am most sincerely anxious, my dear Lyttelton, for your health: much encouraged however to hope a speedy good effect from a good air, such as that of Hagley. I have been ill of an ugly quartan ague, and am not well able to write long, therefore without more ceremony, God in heaven bless you, my dear Lyttelton. 1750.

"Your ever affectionate,

"W. PITT.

"Don't be anxious about Parliament. You will have time to get well before it meets, but of this make no mention."

1750. "Bath, October 13, 1750.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"YOUR letter since your arrival in England has given me much sincere pleasure. The account you give of your amendment with respect to the alarming part of your disorder, leaves me no doubt that I shall have the satisfaction of hearing better and better news of you very soon. Be assured, my dear Lyttelton, no one wishes you more health and happiness than I do; as no one is more sensible than I am how highly you deserve both. I rejoice with your brother and you upon the present state of Bewdley; few things can import your family more than the securing that place. I am much obliged to you for your concern for my health. I have had no return of my ague this month, and find the waters agree perfectly well with me. They don't allow me to write much: so, my dear Lyttelton, adieu.

"Your very affectionate,

"W. PITT.

"My best compliments to Sir Thomas and all the family."

Soon after the meeting of Parliament in January 1751, Mr. Pelham proposed the unwise reduction of the seamen from ten to eight thousand. It was vehemently opposed by the Prince's friend, Lord Egmont, and strongly supported by Mr. Fox; the proposition was carried by 167 against 107. But Pitt, Lyttelton, and George Grenville, all voted in the minority. Pitt, indeed, protesting great regard for Pelham, spoke against it in bringing up the report. The Duke of Newcastle wrote to his friends in approbation of Pitt's

conduct. In this, as well as other instances, the good temper and good sense of Mr. Pelham alone prevented an open rupture between the brothers. At this time, while the Duke of Newcastle was (to borrow H. Walpole's expression) "countenancing Pitt against all," the Duke of Bedford was endeavouring to set up Fox against Mr. Pelham. During this Parliament, great discussions took place on the Mutiny Bill, raised inadvertently it should seem by Colonel * Richard Lyttelton, younger brother of Lyttelton, member for Brockley, and a favourite with the Prince. Lyttelton (now Sir George) delivered a set speech,† elaborate and well reasoned, in favour of the measure. During this session, Pelham proposed that £40,000. a-year should be paid to Bavaria for six years, £20,000. by England and £10,000. by the Empress Queen, and by Holland. According to Walpole (whose Parliamentary sketches, divested of their personalities, form the most valuable part of his memoirs,) "Martin made a speech of great wit against "it, Lyttelton a learned one, and Murray, Solicitor "General, a very masterly one for it." Pitt spoke vehemently, and with the three Grenvilles and Conway (alone of English Whigs) voted against Mr. Pelham, on a petition for a Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of a General Anstruther on a court martial. It does not appear that Lyttelton deserted Pelham on this or on any other occasion than that already mentioned, the reduction of the seamen: but there is no doubt that he was engaged in a plan for conci- 1751.

* He is the person whom Glover eulogises in his Memoirs.

† Printed in his works as corrected by himself.

1751. liating the Prince of Wales, not however as it appears to me, for the purpose of overthrowing Mr. Pelham. That Minister was at this time thwarted by three parties (1.) secretly, by his brother and Pitt, (2.) and by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Sandwich, and Fox, the latter of whom had become adherents of the Duke of Cumberland, (3.) and openly by the Prince of Wales. The Prince died of a pleurisy, on the 20th of March, 1751.* Then follows a story told by H. Walpole, and resting on his authority alone.† "Soon after the Prince died, an unlucky discovery was made.

* The best trait of the Prince is his kindness to Flora Mac Ivon.—See Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. c. xxix.

The following verses were written (except the lines in italics, which I suspect to be a recent insertion,) about this time.

"Here lies Hanover Fred
Who was alive and is dead;
If it had been his father
I had much rather;
If it had been his brother
Better than any other;
If it had been his sister
Nobody would have missed her;
If it had been his son
No harm would have been done;
If it had been the whole generation
The better for all the nation—
But as it is only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
Why—there's no more to be said."

† "I must guard you (writes Professor Smythe) against the historical publications of the celebrated Horace Walpole. Look for entertainment in them, and you will not be disappointed; but give him not your confidence, indeed you will soon see from his lively and epigrammatic style of narrative, that he cannot deserve it." To the same effect Mr. Hallam in his Constitutional History.

" George Lyttelton had written a lamentation on that 1751.
" occasion to his father, an antiquated baronet in Wor-
" cestershire, telling him that he and his friends had
" just renewed their connection with the Prince of
" Wales, through the mediation of Dr. Ayscough;
" which, though not ripe for discovery, was the true
" secret of their oblique behaviour this session in Par-
" liament. This letter he had delivered to a gentle-
" man's servant who was going into that county; but
" the fellow having some other letters for the post, had
" by mistake given in the private negotiation which
" was only subscribed to *Sir Thomas Lyttelton.* It
" was opened at the Post-office, and carried to Mr.
" Pelham. Had it been seen by no other person
" the secret had been safe, and the treachery con-
" cealed as carefully as if he had been in the conspiracy
" itself, instead of being the object of it; but it was
" talked of from the Post-office, though obscurely for
" some time, till at last it was carried up some how or
" other, and arrived at the King's ears, who grew
" outrageous, and could not be hindered from exa-
" mining Shelvocke, the Secretary of the Post-office
" himself; here he got very little further light, for
" Shelvocke had been instructed to affirm that the let-
" ter was sent back to Mr. Lyttelton unopened; but
" Lyttelton who had not been so well instructed in his
" own secret, avowed it; and as if there was nothing to
" be ashamed of but the discovery, he took pains to pal-
" liate no other part of the story." This is followed by a caricature of Lyttelton's personal appearance and character, and is the version of one who bore such

1751. a malignant hatred against him, that alone of all contemporaries who have written or spoken about Lyttelton, he affected to disbelieve the sincerity of his religious feelings; and who at the very time he was sweltering this posthumous venom, was subscribing himself in private letters Lyttelton's "admirer." The MSS. before me throw no light on this transaction; but it was clearly one of which Lyttelton was not ashamed; and there is every proof that Mr. Pelham's regard for him continued unabated till that gentleman's death. The letters to Doddridge make it probable that this was a negotiation through Dr. Lee, not Dr. Ayscough, for a reconciliation with his old master, (the estrangement from whom his affectionate nature had never ceased to lament), by which whoever else was, Mr. Pelham was not to be sacrificed. Whatever was the cause Dr. Ayscough was immediately removed from his place of tutor to the young Prince. The political party of Leicester House was for the time dissolved. The Princess threw herself into the arms of the King, who received her with unfeigned affection. The Pelhams bestirred themselves and greatly strengthened their administration. They excluded the Duke of Cumberland from the Regency,* which

* "The death of the Prince of Wales (writes Lord Chesterfield to his son), who was more beloved for his affability and good nature, than esteemed for his steadiness and conduct, has given concern to many and apprehensions to all. The great difference of age in the King and Prince George, presents the prospect of a minority; a disagreeable prospect for any nation! but it is to be hoped, and is most probable, that the King, who is now perfectly recovered of his late indisposition, may live to see his grandson of age. He is

they conferred on the young Princess, assisted by a 1751.
council of twelve, which included the Duke of Cumberland. Pitt supported this measure with all his energy, but Lord Cobham spoke against the council, as did Fox. The next step of the Pelhams was to drive out the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich, detaching however from the latter his father-in-law, Lord Gower. Lord Anson was made First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Granville sunk into complete insignificance, quietly accepted the Presidency of the Council. From this time the placidity of the Government continued undisturbed till the death of Mr. Pelham in 1754, except by the debates on the Jews Naturalization Bill, which the Minister warmly supported. Early in the year 1753, an Act which passed the Lords without opposition, and with the approval of several Bishops, passed the Commons after some debate; it was entitled, "An Act to permit persons professing "the Jewish Religion to be naturalized by Act of Par- "liament, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

seriously a most hopeful boy: gentle and good-natured, with a good sound sense. This event has made all sorts of people here historians as well as politicians. Our histories are rummaged for all the particular circumstances of the six minorities we have had since the conquest, viz.—those of Henry III. Edward III. Richard II. Henry VI. Edward V. and Edward VI.; and the reasonings, the speculations, the conjectures, and the predictions, you will easily imagine must be innumerable and endless in this nation, where every porter is a consummate politician Doctor Swift says, very humorously, 'Every man knows that he understands religion and 'politics, though he has not learned them; but many people are 'conscious they do not understand many other sciences from having 'never learned them?'—Adieu."—Letter ccxvii.

1753. The bill, in fact, only extended to foreign Jews, naturalized here, the privileges enjoyed by the sons of Jews born here. So violent an outcry was raised against the measure as destructive of the Church and Christianity; so incredible was the ferment into which the nation was thrown by it, that Ministers thought it expedient to repeal it that same year. Some discussion took place as to the repeal and the words employed. Among others, (to borrow Horace Walpole's words,) "Pitt, who was just come abroad again, after a year "of sullen illness, defended the words and the repeal, "and it passed by a majority of 150 to 60." Lyttelton delivered one of those studied orations in which both Walpole and Lord Waldegrave pronounce that he excelled. In the course of his speech* he said, "Re- "solution and steadiness are excellent qualities; but "it is the application of them upon which their value "depends. A wise Government will know where to "yield as well as where to resist: and there is no "surer marks of littleness of mind in an administra- "tion than obstinacy in trifles. Public wisdom on some "occasions must give way to popular folly, especially "in a free country, where the humour of the people "must be considered as attentively as the demand of "a King in an absolute monarchy. Under both forms "of Government, a prudent and honest ministry "will indulge a *small folly* and will resist a *great one.* "Not to vouchsafe now and then a kind indulgence "to the former, would discover an ignorance of human "nature. Not to resist the latter would be a meanness

* See vol. iii. of Lyttelton's works.

" and servility." He also observed in the course of his 1754.
speech, that " the worst mischief that can be done " to Religion, is to pervert it to the purposes of " faction. Heaven and hell are not more distant than " the benevolent spirit of the Gospel, and the malig- " nant spirit of party;" that he " who hated another " for not being a Christian was himself not a Christian;" that " Toleration was the basis of all public quiet—a " charter of freedom given to the mind, more valua- " ble, he thought, than that which secures our persons " and estates."*

On the 6th of March, 1754, Mr. Pelham died. " Our tranquillity, (writes Lord Waldegrave,) both at home and abroad died with him." " Now I shall have no more peace," exclaimed George the Second. In truth he had been an able, wise, and honest Minister, under whom this country greatly flourished. As to his private character, Lord Chesterfield truly observed, " that he had many domestic virtues and no vices." And the Detractor-General, H. Walpole, allowed that he had lived without abusing his power, and died poor. Very different was the character of his brother the Duke of Newcastle, whose high rank, powerful connections, indefatigable industry and per-

* Well would it have been for the country if such opinions had been generally prevalent among his contemporaries. Speaking of the period a few years before the date of this speech, Burke accuses Lord Chesterfield of duping the credulity of Papists in Ireland, while he was " urging penal laws against them in a speech from the throne, and of stimulating with provocatives the wearied and half-exhausted bigotry of the then Parliament of Ireland."—Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe.

1754. severance, and intrepidity in debate, scarcely redeemed him from the contempt to which his constant perfidy, his mean jealousy, servile timidity and low ambition of place and power, almost universally consigned him. Pitt, Fox, and Murray, were by far the ablest debaters in the House; and the candidates out of whom the world imagined Mr. Pelham's successor would be chosen. Murray set his heart on being Lord Chief Justice, and wisely resolved to cling to his profession: the Duke of Newcastle was determined to outwit both Fox and Pitt. Fox was at this time bribed by the Duke of Cumberland, as not long afterwards Pitt was by Leicester House, which had again become the theatre of habitual intrigue, under the Princess Dowager and her son, then nearly eighteen years old, the future George the Third. Lyttelton, George Grenville, and Legge were the most considerable persons in the House, after the three whose pre-eminence was generally admitted. The Duke of Newcastle offered Fox the Secretaryship of State, and on his acceptance clogged it with such humiliating conditions, that he knew it must be refused. He then placed a creature of his own, Sir George Robinson,* in that important post; he was not less unacceptable to the King, because not only wholly ignorant of continental politics, but utterly without the faculty of explaining himself in intelligible language—no slight requisite in a leader of the House of Commons. He soon became the derision of the House under the incessant baiting of Pitt and Fox, who remained Paymaster of the Forces

* Afterwards Lord Grantham.

and Secretary at War. Lyttelton who had become 1754.
sincerely attached to Mr. Pelham's principle of government, which he believed the Duke meant to carry into execution, was made Cofferer,* George Grenville, Treasurer of the Navy, an office vacant by the promotion of Legge to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Horace Walpole says, that Lyttelton "undertook to be a factor for his friends," and unauthorised answered for Pitt's acquiescence under a new plan. This period brings us to a remarkable epoch in Lyttelton's life—the causes which led to the rupture of "the historic friendship"† with Pitt. Fortunately the story can be told in their own language. The correspondence of Pitt, from the death of Mr. Pelham till the close of the year 1754, and Lyttelton's paper of observations thereupon, constitute not the least curious and interesting portion of the manuscripts at Hagley. Lord Waldegrave in his agreeable and trustworthy memoirs observes, that at this time "Mr. Pitt's followers were scarce a sufficient number to deserve "the name of a party, consisting only of the Grenvilles and Sir George Lyttelton. The latter was "an enthusiast both in religion and politics—absent "in business, not ready in debate and totally ignorant "of the world; on the other hand his studied orations were excellent, he was a man of parts, a scholar, no indifferent writer, and by far the honestest "man of the whole society." I should here observe, that the manuscripts before me show no trace of any

* He made his brother William sub-cofferer.

† H. Walpole's expression.

acquaintance subsisting between Lyttelton and Lord Waldegrave.

FROM PITT TO LYTTELTON.

"Bath, February 16th, 1754.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

1754. "I AM extremely sensible of your friendly and kind remembrance of your faithful servant, now under the wholesome but painful discipline of fit the second of gout in both feet; I was just beginning to use my feet when I lost them again, and have been for this week in much pain, and nailed fast to my great chair. I rejoice much in the health of the Lytteltons; at least of Hill-street, for as to Sir Richard, I have not the pleasure of hearing any boasts of his defying the severe winter we have had. I hope, however, he is not, as I am, laid up. Your bustle about putting the troops at Madras, &c. under martial law was, I imagine, not great; a more reasonable and indeed necessary proposition could not, in my opinion, be moved. A greater state solecism can hardly be imagined than foreign mercenary troops, not under the controul of martial law; and that in a place exposed every hour to war. Le Harpe stands you a long chase: I suppose you partake of the sport, with what keenness I know not. The affair, though not of the first magnitude, has, I believe, a good deal of dirt at the bottom of it, and is well worthy of the exertion of that great Right of Enquiry, which is to be exploded in a few years more. A thousand thanks to my dear Lyttelton, for his very obliging tender of his company to the

sick: I hope, before it is very long, to repeat these thanks to you in London, and enjoy the pleasure of that conversation you have goodness enough to offer me in my present state of tribulation. I rejoice things at Oakhampton are likely to go well. Believe me, 1754.

"My dear Lyttelton,

"Most affectionately yours,

"W. PITT.

"I am much Mrs. Mary West's humble servant, and rejoice in her health."

"(Secret.)

"Bath, March 10th, 1754.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"I AM much obliged to you for your dispatch, and am highly satisfied with the necessary reserve you have kept with respect to the dispositions of yourself and friends. Indeed the conjuncture itself, and more especially our peculiar situation, require much caution and measure in all our answers, in order to act like honest men, who determine to adhere to the public great object; as well as men who would not be treated like children. I am far from meaning to recommend a sullen, dark, much less a double conduct; all I mean is to lay down a plan to ourselves; which is, to support the King's government in present and maintain the Princess's authority and power in a future contingency: as a necessary consequence of this system, I wish to see as little power in Fox's hands as possible, because he is incompatible with the main part and indeed of the whole of this plan; but

1754. I mean not to open myself to whoever pleases to sound my dispositions, with regard to persons especially, and by premature declarations, deprive ourselves of the only chance we have of deriving any consideration to ourselves from the mutual fears and animosities of different factions in court: and expose ourselves to the resentment and malice in the *closet* of the one without stipulations or security for the good offices and weight of the other there in our favour. But do I mean then an absolute reserve, which has little less than the air of hostility towards our friends (such as they are) at court; or at least, bear too plainly the indications of intending a third party or flying squadron! by no means: nothing would, in my poor judgment, be so unfit and dangerous for us. I would be open and explicit (but only on proper occasions) "that, I was most willing to support his Majesty's government upon such a proper plan as I doubted not his Majesty, by the advice of his Ministers, would frame; in order to supply, the best that may be, the irreparable loss the King has sustained in Mr. Pelham's death: in order to secure the King ease for his life and future security to his family and to the kingdom: that my regards to the ministers in being were too well known to need any declarations;" this and the like which may be vary'd for ever, is answer enough to any *sounder*. As to any things said by Principals in personal conference, as that of the Chancellor with you, another manner of talking will be proper, though still conformable to the same private plan which you shall resolve to pursue. Pro-

fessions of personal regard cannot be made too strongly; but as to matter, generals are to be answered with generals; particulars, if you are led into them, need not at all be shunn'd; and if treated with common prudence and presence of mind, can not be greatly used to a man's prejudice; if he says nothing that implies specific engagements, without knowing specifically what he is to trust to reciprocally. Within these limitations, it seems to me, that a man whose intentions are clear and right, may talk without putting himself at another's mercy or offending him by a dark and mysterious reserve. I think it best to throw my answer to the Chancellor into a separate piece of paper, that you may send it to his Lordship. I am sorry to be forced to answer in writing, because not seeing the party, it is not possible to throw in necessary qualifications and additions or retractations, according to the impression things make. 1754.

"As far as, my dear Lyttelton, you are so good to relate your several conversations upon the present situation, I highly applaud your prudence. I hope you neither have nor will drop a word of menace, and that you will always bear in mind that my personal connection with the Duke of Newcastle, has a peculiar circumstance which yours and that of your friends has not. One cannot be too explicit in conversing at this unhappy distance* on matters of this delicate and critical nature. I will, therefore, commit tautology, and

* Pitt, says H. Walpole, was at Bath, "where he had, or had "unluckily acted, very ill health."

1754. repeat what I said in my former dispatch: viz. that it enters not the least into my plans to intimate quitting the King's service; giving trouble, if not satisfied, to Government. The essence of it consists in this: attachment to the King's service, and zeal for the ease and quiet of his life, and stability and strength to future government under the Princess; this declared openly and explicitly *to the ministers.* The reserve I would use should be, with regard to listing in particular subdivisions, and thereby not freeing persons from those fears which will alone quicken them to give us some consideration for their own sakes: but this is to be done *negatively* only; by eluding explicit declarations with regard to persons especially; but by *intimations of a possibility of our following our resentments;* for, indeed, dear Sir George, I am determined not to go into faction. Upon the whole, the mutual fears in Court open to our connection some room for importance and weight, in the course of affairs: in order to profit by this situation, we must not be out of office: and the strongest argument of all to enforce that, is, that Fox is too odious to last for ever, and G. Grenville must be next nomination under any Government. I am too lame to move.

"Your ever affectionate

"W. PITT."

Lyttelton's ingenuous nature was ill qualified to follow the dark and tortuous course prescribed to him

in this memorable letter;* that the writer, however, 1754.
was fully able to practise what he taught will be seen from the enclosure to Lord Hardwicke. His mode of hinting, that if Fox is made Chancellor of the Exchequer, he will accept the Secretaryship at War, will amuse the reader.

" (Ostensible to Lord Hardwicke.)

" Bath, March 10th, 1754.

" My dear Sir George,

" I beg you will be so good to assure my Lord Chancellor, in my name, of my most humble services and many very grateful acknowledgments for his Lordship's obliging wishes for my health. I am still under an utter impossibility of travelling, with much gout and pain in both feet: it is particularly mortifying to me not to be able to wait on his Lordship to receive his commands in this unhappy and difficult conjuncture, when the King and kingdom have sustained an irreparable loss. The best which can be done must leave, I fear, the public exposed to many disagreeable and perhaps dangerous contingencies—that this best, wherever it is to be found, will be done, I can safely trust to my Lord Chancellor's wisdom, authority, and firmness, in conjunction with the Duke of Newcastle's great weight and abilities, as soon as his Grace can recover into action again. I can never

* Full of what Mr. Burke so admirably designates as " signifi-
" cant, pompous, creeping, explanatory, ambiguous matter, in the
" true Chathamic style."—Burke's Corres., vol. i. p. 173.

1754. sufficiently express the high sense I have of the great honours of my Lord Chancellor's much too favourable opinion of his humble servant; but I am so truly and deeply conscious of so many* of my wants in Parliament and out of it, to supply in the smallest degree this irreparable loss, that I can say with much truth were my health restored and his Majesty brought from the dearth of subjects to hear of my name for so great a charge, I should wish to decline the honour, even though accompany'd with the attribution of all the weight and strength which the good opinion and confidence of the master cannot fail to add to a servant; but under impressions in the Royal mind towards me, the reverse of these, what must be the vanity which would attempt it? These prejudices, however so successfully suggested and hitherto so unsuccessfully attempted to be removed, shall not abate my zeal for his Majesty's service, though they have so effectually disarmed me of all means of being useful to it. I need not suggest to his Lordship that consideration and weight in the House of Commons arises generally but from one of two causes—the protection and countenance of the Crown, visibly manifested by marks of Royal Favour at Court, or from weight in the country, sometimes arising from opposition to the public measures. This latter sort of consideration it is a great satisfaction to me to reflect I parted with, as soon as I became convinced there might be danger to the family from pursuing opposition any further; and I need not say I have not

* Sic in orig.

had the honour to receive any of the former since I became the King's servant. In this humiliating and not exaggerated view of my situation within the House, of how little weight can I flatter myself to be there? And how even would it be for me, were I in town, to assume anything like the lead, even though encouraged to it by as animating a consideration as my Lord Chancellor's protection, without the attribution of a weight, which does not belong to myself, and can arise to me only from marks of Royal Countenance towards me and my friends. Perhaps some of my friends may not labour under all the prejudices that I do. I have reason to believe they do not: in that case should Mr. Fox be Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary at War is to be filled up. I can not leave off without repeating again the high sense I have of the great honour of my Lord Chancellor's good opinion. I fear I have very little else to merit any degree of it, but unutterable good wishes for the security, ease, and quiet of his Majesty's reign, and a firm attachment to the maintenance and stability of the Princess's authority as established in case of a minority, which God avert! And I hope I need not add, that no one is more respectfully and gratefully attached to his Lordship than I am, Farewell, my dear Sir George, your ever affectionate, 1754.

"W. PITT."

The Lord Chancellor on the day he was created Earl of Hardwicke and Viscount Royston, wrote to Mr. Pitt this answer.*

* Published in the Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. p. 89.

1754. THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

" Powis House, April 2, 1754.

" SIR,

" AFTER having read your letter to Sir George Lyttelton, which he was pleased to shew me, I take shame to myself for having omitted so long to do myself the honour of writing to you. But I must own (besides the pain of leaning down to write during the violence of my cough), another kind of shame has, in part, restrained me from it; for I blush even when I refer to that letter. I am penetrated with the goodness which it breathes for me; but that goodness carried you to say some things which, as I am sensible I neither do, nor ever can deserve, I dare not take to myself. Besides this, I have lived in such continual hurry, ever since the day of our great misfortune, Mr. Pelham's death,—

" Ille dies, quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum (sic Dī voluistis,) habebo,"—

that I have had no time for correspondence.

" The general confusion called upon somebody to step forth; and the Duke of Newcastle's overwhelming affliction and necessary confinement, threw it upon me. I was a kind of minister, *ab aratro*, I mean the chancery-plough, and am not displeased to be returned to it, laborious as it is to hold. I never saw the King under such deep concern since the Queen's death. His Majesty seemed to be unresolved; professed to have no favourite for the important employment vacant; and declared that he would be

advised by his cabinet council, with the Duke of Devonshire added to them; and yet I could plainly discern a latent prepossession in favour of a certain person, who, within a few hours after Mr. Pelham's death, had made strong advances to the Duke of Newcastle and myself. I gained no further ground for four days, and remained in a state of the utmost anxiety, as well for the King's dignity, as for the event. 1754.

"To poll in a cabinet council for his first minister, which should only be decided in his closet, I could by no means digest; and yet I saw danger in attempting to drive it to a *personal* determination. My great objects were to support the system of which Mr. Pelham had been, in a great measure, at the head; by that means to preserve and cement the Whig party, and to secure the election of a new parliament upon the plan he had left, though unfinished; which I inculcated to be the *immediate* fundamental object. This I stuck close to, as I saw it carried the greatest force; and I took advantage of the King's earnestness for a good House of Commons, to show him the necessity of fortifying his interest there, not only by numbers, but by weight and abilities.

"Under this head, it might have the appearance of something which I would avoid being suspected of, if I told you all I said of particular persons. I was not wanting to do justice to true merit, nor backward to show him how real strength might be acquired. Some way I made, though not all I wished; and I threw out intimations that, upon this occasion, open-

1754. ings would be made in very considerable employments, in which some of those I named should be regarded. I sincerely and without affectation wish that it had been possible for you to have heard all that I presumed to say on this subject. I know you are so reasonable, and have so much consideration for your friends (amongst whom I am ambitious to be numbered), that you would have been convinced *some impression* was made, and that, in the circumstances then existing, it could not have been pushed further without the utmost hazard.

"It would be superfluous and vain in me to say to you, what you know so much better than I, that there are certain things which ministers cannot do directly; and that in political arrangements, prudence often dictates to submit to the *minus malum*, and to leave it to time and incidents, and perhaps to ill-judging opponents, to help forward the rest. Permit me to think that has remarkably happened, even in the case before us. An ill-judged demand of extraordinary powers, beyond what were at last in the royal view, has, in my opinion, helped to mend the first plan, and to leave a greater facility to make use of opportunities still to improve it. This situation, with the Duke of Newcastle (whose friendship and attachment to you are undoubted and avowed) placed at the head of the treasury, and in the first rank of power, affords a much more promising prospect, than the most sanguine dared to hope when the fatal blow was first given.

"It gave me much concern to find by your letter to

the Duke of Newcastle, which his Grace did me the honour to communicate to me in confidence, that you are under apprehensions of *some neglect on this decisive occasion.* At some part of what you say I do not at all wonder. I sincerely feel too much for you, not to have the strongest sensibility of it; but I give you my honour, there was no *neglect.* I exerted my utmost, in concurrence with, and under the instruction of, the Duke of Newcastle; whose zeal in this point is equal to your warmest wishes. That an *impression* was made to a certain degree, I think appears in the instances of some of your best friends, Sir George Lyttelton, and Mr. George Grenville; upon whom you generously and justly lay great weight. I agree that this falls short of the mark; but it gives encouragement. It is more than *a colour for acquiescence* in the eyes of the world; it is a demonstration of fact. No ground arises from hence to think of *retirement, rather than for courts and business.* We have all of us our hours wherein we wish for those *otia tuta;* and I have mine frequently: but I have that opinion of your wisdom, of your concern for the public, of your regard and affection for your friends, that I will not suffer myself to doubt but you will continue to take an active part. There never was a fairer field in the House of Commons for such abilities, and I flatter myself that the exertions of them will complete what is now left imperfect. 1754.

"I need only add to this my best wishes for the entire re-establishment of your health. Those wishes are as cordial as the assurances which, with the utmost

1754. sincerity and respect, I now give you, that I am always, Sir,

"Your most obedient,
"most faithful, and
"most humble servant,
"HARDWICKE."

"Bath, March 20th, 1754.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"YOUR letter by the post has left me in daily expectation of further information by an express. I conclude that things still remain unsettled, because I hear nothing from you, or any other friends, relating to them. I cannot yet fix any time for my leaving this place, for I cannot yet use my legs. I am much recovered in all other respects, and begin to flatter myself with the hope of a degree of health hereafter. The experienced in gout here, promise me the recovery of my feet, as soon as the weather becomes a little milder. The moment I am able to stand, I will set out for London. I need not tell you my impatience to be with my friends. I endeavour to kill my time with the Essay on Human Knowledge.* The work contains a vast compass of reading; it is writ with much clearness, great eloquence, as much wit, and still more arrogance; but I find it in some parts, not a few, filled with repetitions, from my Lord's fondness of the matter. The arrogance is so exces-

* Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophical Essays, published by Mallet on the day of Mr. Pelham's death; a coincidence made memorable by Garrick's well known epigram.

sive, that great as the performance is, it becomes often 1754.
even ridiculous. There was, not many years ago, a man in Bedlam, of very fine parts, and a scholar, who used to entertain all the spectators of that place, with very rational discourses, and talked with wit and eloquence; but always concluded by assuring his hearers, that he alone, of all the world, was in his right senses, and they, and all mankind, were mad, and had conspired to put him in that place.

"Adieu, dear Lyttelton,

"Your ever affectionate,

"W. PITT.

"I should hope a week or ten days may set me upon my legs."

"Bath, March 24th, 1754.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"BEING much tired with long deliberation, and writing a very long letter to the Duke of Newcastle, as well as unfit to write much to-day, from a restless night by the late arrival of your packet, and the effects of Bath waters, I shall say but a few words. First, the inclosed directed for the Duke of Newcastle, I desire you will read, together with Lord Temple, and his brothers, and then seal it, not with my arms or crest, but with a head, and send it, or rather carry it, if you please, to the Duke of Newcastle, and deliver it with your own hand. I judge it upon the whole, necessary to remonstrate as fully as I have done. I hope it will meet with the joint approbation of you all. My plan still continues fixed, not to quit employments; merely quitting is annihila-

1754. tion; quitting to disturb Government, and make ourselves be felt, must at this time be faction; and faction for others' benefit, not our own: it must increase the present confusion, and produce a system I never think right for this country. Were this conduct sure to turn to our own benefit in the scramble, I can never bring my mind to engage in faction, in so dangerous a public conjuncture. Adieu, my dear Lyttelton; I desire you will say all you suppose I feel towards the Chancellor, as when I tell you I think him sincere in his professions, and reverence his wisdom before any man's. The Duke of Newcastle, I don't charge with insincerity intentionable, or want of good will; but I impute all that's wrong there, to an influence that overrules his mind, of which we shall discourse more largely when we meet.

"Your ever affectionate,

"W. PITT."

It is to be regretted, observes the editor of the Chatham Correspondence, that no draught of Mr. Pitt's letter, here referred to, has been preserved. The Duke of Newcastle's is preserved, and published.* The writer vainly endeavoured to avert the wrath which he justly foresaw the appointment of such a log as Sir T. Robinson to the Foreign Secretaryship, over the head of Pitt, would draw down upon him.

"Whenever I have the honour (he writes) of one quarter of an hour's conversation with you, I am certain

* Vol. i. p. 95, Chatham Correspondence.

I shall convince you of the contrary, and that, in the late arrangements, I have had all the regard and attention to your connexions, which it was possible for me to show; and that if I had attempted more, I should have exposed my own weakness, mortified those whom I meant to serve, prevented even what I have been able to obtain, acted the part which those who wish us ill had laid for me, given them great cause of triumph over us, and perhaps have flung every thing into their hands. * * * 1754.

"A plan was at first made, with a view to make my going to the head of the treasury the more palatable to those who might be supposed to be the least pleased with it. That, for certain reasons, did not take place; upon which, the King himself, from his own motion, declared Sir Thomas Robinson secretary of state. Those, who are honoured with your friendship, thought that the most favourable measure that could be obtained. An honourable and able man, extremely well qualified in every respect for the execution of that office, sincerely attached to our system, and who, without departing from that rank and figure which belonged to his office, had not those parliamentary talents which could give jealousy, or in that light set him above the rest of the King's servants there; so that their situation did not receive the least alteration from his promotion; and since, from circumstances (which you know I have long lamented) it was impossible to put one into that office, who had all the necessary qualifications both within and out of the House, nothing sure could show so great a desire to

1754. soften or alleviate that misfortune, as the giving into a nomination of Sir Thomas Robinson, under the description above mentioned.

"The choice of Mr. Legge was made with a view to please all our friends. We knew he was well with the old corps, we knew he was happy in your friendship, and in your good opinion and that of your connection; and you must allow me to say, that I could never have thought one moment of removing you, in the high light in which you so justly stand, from the office you now possess, to be chancellor of the exchequer, with another person at the head of the treasury.

"These dispositions being thus made, it was my first view to shew you that regard, in the person of your friends, which it was impossible to do in your own, to the degree which you might reasonably expect. The two first vacant offices—that of treasurer of the navy and cofferer—were by my recommendation given to your two first friends, Mr. Grenville and Sir George Lyttelton; two employments as agreeable to them both, as I believe could be found out; and the rest of the vacancies plainly filled with a view to the House of Commons, and the providing for the most efficient men there.

"I have now very truly stated to you the state of the late promotions, and the reasons upon which they were made. Had it been possible for me to have surmounted those difficulties which you hint at, I may venture to assure you, that your situation would be very different from what it is, and no one complaint

should have remained, that I could have removed. I 1754.
am happy, in some measure, to have had the same considerations with yourself, and to have acted with success in consequence of it: viz. that the best alleviation that could be to you, would be the placing your friends in honourable and agreeable employments; and I happen to have pitched upon those mentioned in your letter."

Pitt answered* coldly and haughtily, that "The suffrage of the party in one instance, and a higher nomination in another, operating to the eternal exclusion of a man, can leave him (under a resolution not to disturb Government) no wish but that of retreat; not a retreat of resentment, but of respect, and despair of ever being accepted on equal terms with others, be his poor endeavours what they may." He trusted "a retreat neither dishonourable nor disagreeable, might, when it was practicable, be opened to him."

In the following letter to William Lyttelton, he congratulates him on his appointment of Sub-Cofferer, and praises Legge's appointment.

"Bath, April 1st, 1754.

"My dear Lyttelton,

"Nothing could give me more pleasure than to hear that you are agreeably placed under your brother, except the hearing that justice had been done to your talents and virtues by the highest powers. I wished

* Chatham Correspondence, p. 102.

1754. to see you put into the stream of promotion, which, by its natural current, and the right of succession in the gradation of office, (though not always held indefeasible,) commonly bears men to fortune; however, I heartily rejoice at this secondary mode of being placed; nor is the thing inconsiderable. A thousand grateful and affectionate thanks to you, for your kind alarm about me. I am much better in my general health, though far from quite well. I am still too lame to stand without two sticks. Adieu, my dear Sub-Cofferer; may you in no long course of years, (with Sir George's leave,) come 'to sleep within the chariot that you drive;' for all the cares of office will be yours, while the Cofferer reposes in the shades of Hagley, and dispenses his own fat bucks, as you will do those of His Majesty's parks and forests.

"Most affectionately yours,

"W. PITT.

"My affectionate compliments to Sir George and Sir Richard. I rejoice extremely at the accession to Legge's landed property."

"Bath, April 4th, 1754.

"DEAR LYTTELTON,

"I AM extremely happy to hear of your recovery at the same time I hear that you have been ill. I hope your health will be quite established before you attempt a journey to Oakhampton. I have, myself, a cold in my head, and a slight sore throat, which unfits me for writing. I have answered the Chancellor's

letter, and the Duke of Newcastle's, by this messenger, 1754.
I must therefore be short to you. The Duke of Newcastle's letter to me is not only in a temper very different from what you saw his Grace in, but is writ with a condescension, and in terms so flattering, that it pains me. I am almost tempted to think there is kindness at the bottom of it, *which, if left to itself, would before now have shewed itself* in effects. If I have not the fruit, I have the leaves of it in abundance; a beautiful foliage of fine words; and if lulling one to sleep would satisfy his Grace, I am quite disposed à m'endormir, *à l'ombre de ses Lauriers*, not as de Retz says of the Prince of Condé, of my own. The Chancellor's letter is the most condescending, friendly, obliging thing that can be imagined. I have the deepest sense of his goodness for me; but I am really compelled, by every reason fit for a man to listen to, to resist (as to the point of activity in Parliament) farther than I like to do. I have intimated retreat, and pointed out such a one in general as I shall really like. Resolved not to disturb Government, I desire to be released from the oar of Parliamentary drudgery. I am willing to sit there, and be ready to be called out into action when the Duke of Newcastle's personal interests might require, or Government should deign to employ me as an instrument. I am not fond of making speeches (though some may think I am). I never cultivated the talent but as an instrument of action in a country like ours: these ideas of men's fitness for office are changed. I wish the error may not be seen

1754. and felt too late. My best compliments to my Lady Cofferer. I am

"Dear Sir George's

"Most affectionate

"W. PITT.

"I would write to G. Grenville if I was able to write any longer. My best wishes attend him; and many thanks for his letter."

"Bath, May 20th, 1754.

"DEAR SIR GEORGE,

"I HAVE continued much in the state Lord Temple saw me in, that is, in very good health, but weak in my feet, and lame in my hand. His Lordship was so good to charge himself with my thanks to you, for the pleasure of your letter from Oakhampton, and my excuse for not writing, which it was inconvenient to me to do. I use a pen with some difficulty still, and my feet, in so hobbling a manner, that I find myself neither very fit, *nor in much haste*, to make my bow in London—"*mihi jam non Regia Roma; sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum.*" The country here is delightfull; and the taste I find in me for quiet, every hour takes deeper root in my mind. What can I do so well as yield myself up to this taste? to the tranquil comforts of indolence and innocence? I don't dare think I ever could have done much good; but since it is now become evident, that I am never to be suffered to try to serve my country, I have nothing left in my power but to resolve not

to hurt it. I believe I shall hardly be in town by the 31st; be so good to let me know how many days the Parliament is to sit. My hand begins to fail. 1754.

"Most affectionately yours,

"W. PITT.

"I hope the Duchess of Bridgewater* is in a good way. My affectionate compliments to Sir Richard."

"P.S. I hope my answer to the Chancellor will not be disapproved; it contains my poor plan in the exactest limits and extent of it; and equally to this answer I should wish to form my whole conduct, and *language* (when I thought proper to use any). I desire you will be so good to read it to the Chancellor, and if he desires to keep it, I have no objection. I wish to have it communicated to the Duke of Newcastle, and by you. If the Chancellor does not keep it, you will also be so good to communicate it before delivery to the three brothers;* as well as my letters at large to you. I have not intimated, you see, any thing with regard to what consideration I might expect for myself. I think it better that should arise from themselves, at least not come from me. If they are in earnest to avail themselves of me against what they

* Sir Richard Lyttelton married the Duchess of Bridgewater.

† Lord Temple, George and James Grenville. When Mr. Burke used the same expression, he included Lord Chatham:—"What think you of the three united brothers."—Burke's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 103.

1754. fear, they will call me to the cabinet; though a cabinet council office may be impracticable at this time, in future it may not, and I may be better able to undertake one. Whether they will do all they can for us, I cannot tell; but their wants are so great, and will infallibly grow so fast upon them, that if God grants us all health, our poor, depressed, betrayed, persecuted band, will have its weight, if we keep our tempers, and hold employments, and act systematically, without haste and fluctuation to the great plain objects of public good: the present security, and quiet of Government, and the maintenance of the future Government under the Princess, '*est et fideli tuta silentio merces.*' Silence is an inestimable jewel in these nice conjunctures. *Little said, soon mended,* is an axiom to be writ in gold. I mean silence to persons unauthorised to question, *sounders:* frankness with prudence to principals who talk with authority. I must have tired you to death; I am sure I have myself. Before I lay down the pen, I will say, nothing can be so glaring, as to say to you in one and the same breath, it was wished I was in town to take the lead, and to lay in a claim to plead the King's alienation of mind against me. Who could his Lordship think he was talking to? I, however, really honour and respect the Chancellor, and think him a great resource in these times. You cannot be too careful of these sheets, not to leave them in your pockets, or drop them. Pardon all these cautions; but we are beset with snares and dangers. I beg you will mend the

English in my answer to the Chancellor, if there are slips." 1754.

Rather a singular ending from so great a master of English. The letter to Lord Hardwicke bears an earlier date than this, but was as follows.*

"Bath, April 6, 1754.

"My Lord,

"No man ever felt an honour more deeply, than I do that of your Lordship's letter. Your great goodness in taking the trouble to write, amidst your perpetual and important business, and the very condescending and infinitely obliging terms, in which your Lordship is pleased to express yourself, could not fail to make impressions of the most sensible kind. I am not only unable to find words to convey my gratitude; but I am much more distressed to find any means of deserving the smallest part of your Lordship's very kind attention and indulgence to a sensibility carried, perhaps, beyond what the cause will justify, in the eye of superior and true wisdom. I venerate so sincerely that judgment, that I shall have the additional unhappiness of standing self-condemned, if my reasons already laid before your Lordship continue to appear insufficient to determine me to inaction.

"I cannot without much shame so abuse your Lordship's indulgence, as to go back, but for a moment, into an unworthy subject that has already caused you too much trouble, and which must unavoidably be filled

* Chatham Correspondence, vol i. p. 103.

1754. with abundance of indecent egotism. But permit me to assure your Lordship, in the first place, that far from having a doubt remaining on my mind, that more might have been done in my favour *on this occasion*, I think myself greatly indebted to your Lordship's goodness, and will ever gratefully acknowledge the kind efforts you were pleased to make, to remove impressions that have entered so deep; but I hope your Lordship will not think me unreasonable, if I conclude, from the inefficacy of these efforts in such a want of subjects to carry on the King's business in Parliament, and under his Majesty's strong sense of that want, that these impressions are immoveable.

"Your Lordship is pleased kindly to say, that some way is made, and that some future occasion may be more favourable for me. I am not able to conceive any such occasion possible. God forbid, the wants of his Majesty's Government should ever become more urgent! Such an unhappy distress can only arise from an event so fatal to this country, and which must deprive me of one of the two great protectors whose friendship constitutes the only honour of my public life, that I will not carry my views or reasonings forward to that melancholy day. I might likewise add (I conceive not unreasonably), that every acquiescence to his Majesty's negative (necessary as I am convinced it was to acquiesce) must confirm and render more insurmountable the resolution taken for my perpetual exclusion.

"This, I confess, continues to be strongly my view of my situation. It is very kind and generous in your

Lordship to suggest a ray of distant, general hope to a man you see despairing, and to turn his view forward from the present scene to the future. But, my lord, after having set out under suggestions of this general hope ten years ago, and bearing long a load of obloquy for supporting the King's measures, and never obtaining in recompense the smallest remission of that displeasure I vainly laboured to soften, all ardour for public business is really extinguished in my mind, and I am totally deprived of all consideration by which alone I could have been of any use. The weight of irremoveable royal displeasure is a load too great to move under: it must crush any man; it has sunk and broke me. I succumb; and wish for nothing but a decent and innocent retreat, wherein I may no longer, by continuing in the public stream of promotion, for ever stick fast aground, and afford to the world the ridiculous spectacle of being passed by every boat that navigates the same river. To speak without a figure, I will presume upon your Lordship's great goodness to me, to tell my utmost wish:—it is, that a retreat, not void of advantage, or derogatory to the rank of the office I hold, might, as soon as practicable, be opened to me. In this view, I take the liberty to recommend myself to your Lordship's friendship, as I have done to the Duke of Newcastle's. Out of his Grace's immediate province accommodations of this kind arise, and to your joint protection, and to that only, I wish to owe the future satisfaction of my life. 1754.

"I see with the greatest pleasure, the regard that has been had to Sir George Lyttelton and Mr. George

1754. Grenville. Every good done to them will be, at all times, as done to me. I am at the same time persuaded that nothing could be more advantageous to the system. Sir George Lyttelton has great abilities for set debates, and solemn questions: Mr. Grenville is universally able in the whole business of the House, and, after Mr. Murray and Mr. Fox, is certainly one of the very best parliament men in the House.

"I am now to ask a thousand most humble pardons of your Lordship for the length, and, I fear, still more for the matter, of this letter. If I am not quite unreasonable, your Lordship's equity and candour will acquit me: if I am so unfortunate as to appear otherwise, where it is my ambition not to be thought wrong, I hope your Lordship's generosity and humanity will notwithstanding pardon failings that flow from no ill principle, and that never can shake my unalterable wishes for the quiet and security of government. I rejoice in your Lordship's recovery from your late indisposition, and am, my Lord, &c.

"W. PITT."

The next letter announces the marriage of the Great Commoner into a family, which, with the accession of his name and abilities, might and would, had they been always united, have wielded the most powerful political influence ever exercised by any family in these kingdoms. A family of which it has been truly and eloquently said, that "it has produced so many eminent men, and formed such distinguished alliances, that it exercised in a regular and constitutional man-

ner an influence in the state, scarce inferior to that, 1754.
which, in widely different times, and by widely different arts, the house of Neville attained in England, and that of Douglas in Scotland. During the latter years of George the Second, and through the whole reign of George the Third, members of that widely spread and powerful connexion were almost constantly at the head either of the Government or the opposition. There were times when the cousinhood, as it was once named, would itself have furnished almost all the materials of an efficient cabinet. Within the space of fifty years, three first Lords of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, two keepers of the Privy Seal, and four First Lords of the Admiralty were appointed from among the sons and grandsons of the Countess Temple."*

"October, 31, 1754.

"MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,

"YOUR warm and kind assurances of the joy you receive from an approaching event, full of every happiness and honour to your friend and servant, is a circumstance of additional pleasure and satisfaction most sensibly felt. I am, indeed, a most happy man. You, who know what it is tenderly and passionately to love the object of your perfect esteem, and entire confidence, will best be able to estimate this happiness truly. I can add, if I may without vanity, that I have the pride as well as joy, to find every taste of my mind, and more serious purposes of my life, cor-

* Mr. Macaulay's Essays, vol. iii. p. 13, on Sir W. Temple.

1754. respond to those of Lady Hester Grenville. Would I could add that my nature was as free from defects and weaknesses! I write this from Marlbro' so much happier than when your letter reached me, as I am nearer to the source of every felicity. My obligations to Lady Hester are indeed infinite: for what, my dear Lyttelton, have I to lay at her feet, in return for the invaluable present her goodness makes me, but a fortune very far from tempting, and a health shattered and declined? The manner in which you receive my warmest wishes for your brother William's fortune and figure is most obliging. Nothing could add to it but adopting so kindly the idea I ventured to intimate concerning Bewdley. Many, many cordial thanks to you for all your kind wishes for my welfare in general, which you do me the honour to express so largely. Accept in return of the warmest and sincerest wishes of my heart for all you wish to yourself of honour or of advantage. Give me leave to comprehend all Hagley in this letter of grateful thanks. I would do myself the honour to write to Lady Lyttelton separately; but that I know this will give her less trouble, as well as more pleasure coming to her through you. I am ever

"your affectionate
"and happy friend,
"W. PITT.

"If Miller is with you, my kindest remembrance to him."

Then follows, in Lyttelton's own handwriting, and evidently after the accession of George the Third, these "Observations on Mr. Pitt's Letters of 1754." 1754.

"For fear of saying anything that Mr. Pitt might think too much or too little, I contented myself with delivering his letter to Lord Hardwicke without any comment upon it, either in talking to his Lordship, or to the Duke of Newcastle. The peculiar circumstance in Mr. Pitt's *personal* connexion with his Grace, which he desires me *always to bear in mind*, was his being brought by his Grace into Parliament for one of his family boroughs. But this he forgot soon, as he did many other things declared by him in these letters: for instead of being *ready to be called out into action as often as the Duke of Newcastle's personal interests might require it*, he acted the next session with much personal malignity against the Duke of Newcastle, in conjunction with Fox, whom he speaks of as so *odious*. By which conduct, though he did not lay down his employment, he forced the administration to let in Fox; and then, having gained Leicester House and the Tories, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Legge, formed so powerful a faction, that, when in consequence of his opposing all the measures of Government, he and his friends were turned out, in the year 1756, such difficulties were brought upon the administration, as, concurring with the unfortunate loss of Minorca in the following summer, put an end to it, and made him Secretary of State before the Parliament met. But he could not hold it long without a reconciliation with the Duke of Newcastle,

1754. as I had always foreseen. Their union, which was the point I had constantly at heart, proved the safety of the kingdom in that conjuncture. Pitt's opposition at first was the effect of a jealousy, that his Grace's inclination was to make Mr. Murray Secretary of State instead of him, which I knew to be false at that time; Mr. Murray having declared a fixed resolution to adhere to his profession. Lord Hardwicke, to keep down Fox,* his personal enemy, most ardently desired the advancement of Pitt, as soon as the obstacles in the closet could be removed; but that was really a work of much more difficulty than Pitt's impatience would believe. An attempt to force the King to it so early as he wished, after the death of Mr. Pelham, would have had no effect, (as I have frequently heard Lord Hardwicke say) but to drive his Majesty into the arms of Fox, who, with a very considerable number of the Whigs, was ready to support him against such a compulsion, and might probably have made his party good: Mr. Pitt's popularity not being yet acquired. Whereas, his Lordship made no doubt, that if Pitt would have been quiet and friendly to the Government, the King would have been persuaded to give him the seals before the end of the year. It was quite impossible for me, as a man of honour and integrity, to join in an opposition which, at the beginning of it, in the year 1754, and through the ensuing session of 1755, had not even the pretence of any public cause, but was purely personal against the

* Fox, in opposing the Chancellor's famous Marriage Act, had most unfairly and unwisely made a personal attack upon him.

Duke of Newcastle, to whom, at the desire of Mr. Pitt himself, I had given a pledge of my friendship, by receiving from him the honourable office of Cofferer a little before, and to whose brother, Mr. H. Pelham, I had greater obligations than to any other friend; he having, without any application to him from me, or in my behalf, refused to give the office of Treasurer of the Navy to Mr. Legge on Mr. Doddington's resignation, till after I had declined the offer of it from him, and having also, but just before his death, most strongly recommended me to the King for a peerage. Nor did I ever give the least hope, in any conversation with Mr. Pitt or his friends, after I was made Cofferer, that I would come into any measures to subvert the administration of the Duke of Newcastle, but, on the contrary, protested very warmly against it, as no less inconsistent with my political system, than with my obligations and engagements; because I thought it would tend to set up Fox; seeing that without him or the Duke of Newcastle for a colleague, it was not possible for Pitt to maintain himself long in power, as things then stood. In the session of parliament which began in November 1755, the main point of public business was the attack or defence of the treaties with Hesse, Hanover, and Brunswick, and with the Empress of Russia; all formed for the same end, to keep the war out of Germany. Mr. Pitt opposed the last as *offensive* against the King of Prussia, which had it really been, I also would have joined in that opposition; but it was purely *defensive*, and con- 1754.

1754. sidered as such by that sagacious Prince himself; who, therefore, acceded to it by a treaty of the same nature concluded with us the next year. The other treaties, before mentioned, Mr. Pitt declared against as *Hanover jobs*, because the chief object of them was to guard the Electorate against a French invasion; but to me it seemed, that if his Majesty's German dominions were attacked in a war purely British, wherein they had no interest or concern whatever, merely in revenge for what was done by the Elector of Hanover as King of Great Britain, our honour and interest were no less concerned in their defence, than in the defence of the territories of any other ally endangered for our safety. If this kingdom be drawn into quarrels on the Continent, from causes foreign to its own immediate interests and security, for the interests of his Majesty's German dominions, and to serve their ends, as in the quarrel with Sweden about Bremen and Verdun, *that* is truly and properly a *Hanover job;* but when those dominions are exposed to the fury of an enemy, who is only theirs from being ours, and because they are under the same prince; in such a case the defending of them is a truly *British measure*, and cannot with honour be refused, unless it appears that we are wholly incapable of doing it with effect. It might be indeed better for us if territories on the Continent were not under the same Prince; for which reason, when I had the favour and confidence of the late Prince of Wales, I strongly urged him to resign them to his brother, the Duke of Cumberland; but a separation of them at the time

when this question was agitated being impossible, 1754.
we were to consider how to act in that state of things. The suffering them to be conquered by France in the war, with a view to recover them again at the peace, was an idle proposition; because no English Minister would have dared to treat for the restoration of them by any cession of our rights and conquests in America, which would have been the only means of getting them restored: for though France would probably not have kept them herself, she might have parcelled them out to some of her German allies, and to Sweden; or, at best, have left them quite ruined. How widely Mr. Pitt departed afterwards from the language he held at this time to gain popularity, and distress the court he opposed, I need not observe. The wonder is, that in doing so, he did not lose that popularity; but this must chiefly be accounted for by his almost miraculous success in the war."

CHAPTER XII.

1754—1756.

RESIGNATION OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, AND ELEVATION OF LYTTELTON TO THE HOUSE OF PEERS.

[Hagley MSS.—Horace Walpole's Memoirs of George the Second, Posthumous History, vol. i.—Lord Mahon's History of England vol. iii.—Doddington's Diary—Waldegrave's Memoirs—Burke's first Letter on a Regicide Peace.]

1754. When Parliament met in November, the Duke of Newcastle, whose wretched jealousy had already disgusted and insulted Legge, his new Chancellor of the Exchequer, found that the most formidable opposition to his Government would emanate from his Paymaster and Secretary at War, whom he did not dare to dismiss from their offices. A common sense of having been deceived and ill-treated, united for the moment Pitt and Fox, and these members of the *Government* divided the duties of *opposition* between them. Pitt undertaking to quell the eloquent and gifted Murray, and Fox to torment Robinson till he resigned the place for which he was grotesquely incompetent.

On the 25th November that scene took place in the House of Commons, which H. Walpole has so admirably sketched, when Pitt rushed from the gallery

into the body of the House, and poured out a tremendous philippic on those who had made themselves merry on a question of bribery at an election, observing, that unless great efforts were made "*we should only sit to register the arbitrary edicts of once too powerful a subject.* This thunderbolt, (writes the author who was present at the scene) thrown in a sky so long serene, confounded the audience. Murray crouched silent and terrified. Legge scarce rose to say, with great humility, that he had been raised solely by the Whigs, and if he fell, sooner or later, he should pride himself in nothing but being a Whig." 1754.

On the 29th of November the breach between Lyttelton and Pitt, (which the latter had been preparing since the date of his last letter) was openly avowed: the immediate cause of it, was an unsuccessful attempt of Lyttelton to conciliate the Duke of Bedford. Horace Walpole tells the story in his own way; he seems to have first suggested the possibility of such reconciliation, and as it should seem from his own statement, chiefly for the sake of mischief. Newcastle gave Lyttelton *carte blanche* for the negotiation, which was "overset by his awkward (*Walpolicè* for honest) policy." The Duke of Bedford flatly refused all terms, sent for Pitt who conceived that he had been slighted, "and broke openly with Sir George."

The Parliament met in February. The session was memorable for the displays of extraordinary eloquence which now night after night disturbed the long slumber of the Senate, and struck terror into 1755.

1755. the heart of the Duke of Newcastle. He had sought in vain to soothe Pitt by offer of high place, and subordinate power. Lord Waldegrave says, "Terms being proposed, Pitt was very explicit and fairly let them know that he expected to be Secretary of State, and would not be content with any meaner employment. Neither was it his intention to be a Secretary merely to write letters according to order, or to talk in Parliament like a lawyer from a brief, but to be really a minister. He also declared against continental measures and against all treaties of subsidy; but as this declaration was reserved to the last, it seems possible it might have been totally forgot if the answer to the preceding articles had been satisfactory. * * * * The Duke of Newcastle was not sufficiently intimidated to make any man minister who had frankly told him he would not be directed."

Meanwhile the aspect of Foreign affairs was lowering Ever since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, both in India and North America a war had been smouldering, indeed, every now and then had actually burst out into a flame, between the English and the French. Lately, a British force under General Braddock had been sent off. Sir Edward Hawke (afterwards so illustrious) had beaten several French merchantmen in the West Indian seas. At present, indeed, the French, "with folded arms, beheld these hostilities;"* and after letters of marque had been issued by our Admiralty (in August) released the man-of-war they had taken, which was conveying

* H. Walpole, i. 392.

William Lyttelton to his Government of South Carolina. But continental war was clearly at hand, and the King was determined to subsidise every power in Europe that would be subsidised for the preservation of Hanover. While in Hanover his Majesty concluded treaties for this purpose with Russia and Hesse; being subsidiary, they required the signature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but Legge, who had been writhing under the petulant insolence of Newcastle, and had become secretly leagued with Leicester House, refused to sign the Treasury Warrant for the first payment of the Russian troops, without the consent of Parliament. The Duke could not believe his eyes, and was at his wits end. It was clearly impossible that the Government should get through another session, large as their majority was, without some substitute for Robinson. Pitt having been supplicated in vain, and Murray still adhering to his resolution never to quit his profession, the Duke was obliged, however reluctantly, to dismiss Robinson, and to admit Fox on his own terms into the vacant office, and into the Cabinet. The Government acquired a great accession of strength; for Fox was not only the best debater (except perhaps Murray) in the House, but his boldness revived the drooping spirits of Murray, now Attorney-General, who "laid in wait to profit by any slips which Pitt might make during a debate,"* and more than once foiled his most vehement attacks. Pitt declared open irreconcileable war with Fox, joined himself with Legge, and through the all-powerful favourite of Leicester House, Lord Bute, with the 1755.

* H. Walpole, vol. i. p. 429.

1755. Princess Dowager and with the future George the Third*—who was early induced, by respect and affection for his mother, to intrigue against his grandfather —Pitt prepared his deadliest wrath for the new Secretary of State, and for the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was his old friend Lyttelton; "whose appointment," says Lord Waldegrave, "was resented with the greatest acrimony by the whole cousinhood."

On the 13th of November Parliament met, and the debate on the Treaties called forth, first the opposition of George Grenville, who † "in a fine pathetic speech drew a picture of the future bad peace, and made an encomium on the late cautious minister.‡ He was followed by Lyttelton. Sir George Lee, "the representative of the Princess's sentiments," spoke, and a variety of other members; and then Pitt burst forth "like a torrent long obstructed, with more commanding impetuosity. He and Legge§ opened their new opposition in the very spirit of their different characters. The one, humble, artful, affecting moderation, gliding to revenge. The other, haughty, defiant, conscious of injury, and supreme abilities." In the course of the debate, "half turning with an air of the greatest contempt to Sir George Lyttelton,

* Pitt said "he could not avoid turning from the venerable age of the King to his amiable posterity, *born among us*, yet given up by some unskilful Minister or Ministers," &c.—H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 438.

† H. Walpole, 409. ‡ Pelham.

§ There seems to be no ground for supposing this caricature to resemble the original.

he said, a gentleman near me has talked, too, of writers on the Law of Nations—Nature is the best writer, she will teach us to truckle to men and not to power." Then came his well-known comparison of the coalition of Fox and Newcastle to the junction of the Rhone and Saône at Lyons. He denounced the treaties as *un-British* measures, and said our proper force was our Navy, to which, in the last war, we had owed the restoration of the barrier and Flanders, because it had made us masters of Cape Breton. 1755.

On the 15th Fox received the seals. On the 20th Lord Holderness (Secretary for the Southern Department) wrote to Pitt, Legge, and George Grenville, that his Majesty had no further occasion for their services. Pitt is said to have written a submissive answer. James Grenville resigned the Board of Trade. Walpole ridicules the appointment of Lyttleton to the Exchequer, saying that "They turned an absent poet to the management of the revenue, and employed a man as visionary as Don Quixote to combat Demosthenes." This is, of course, a sacrifice of truth to antithesis; but undoubtedly Lyttelton's new office was one in which he was not calculated to shine, though there seems to be no reason for supposing that he ever neglected the duties of any office which he held, or that the legend in Nicholls's Literary Anecdotes of his inability to comprehend the easiest sum in arithmetic, is founded on fact. It was not without great pain, though with a perfect conviction of the uprightness and consistency of his conduct, that Lyttelton clung to the Pelham standard when his

1755. adherence to it separated him from those to whom personal as well as political friendship of many years had bound him; but, to use his own words, *it seemed to him a less evil to differ from them than from himself, and from all the rules which had hitherto guided his conduct.*

H. Walpole,* who idolized Pitt, and hated Lyttelton almost as much as Lord Temple, says,—"Pitt and Temple resented Lyttelton's negotiating for them, though it is certain he had used all his endeavours to serve them; but as they meant to have the sole power of serving—not to be served—they treated him as ill as if he had sold them." Lyttelton's conduct does not appear to me to need any defence in this matter. No one calmly reviewing the history of this time, the fact that Pitt had joined the Duke's administration, in which he was actually Paymaster when he delivered his memorable philippic—the language of his letters to Lyttelton before and after he had accepted the Coffership—and, above all, his subsequent adoption of the very subsidising measures against which he now thundered—can doubt that mortified personal ambition, and not patriotism, was, at *this particular period*, the spring of his actions. No one, even if they dissent to this position, can for a moment vindicate not merely the breach of long and true private friendship, but the bitter personal hostility into which the boiling haughtiness of his nature betrayed him for a season.

But Lyttelton, who in "the dazzling fence of rhetoric," and the energy of conception and purpose

* Vol. i. p. 359.

requisite for a statesman in the hour of trouble, was so far inferior to the Great Commoner, yielded to no one in jealous regard for his own honour and for steadiness of attachment to his friends. I find among the manuscripts the following :— 1755.

" Copy of part of a letter to a common friend on the occasion of my political quarrel with Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple and his family, in the year 1755.*

" You express your concern at the coldness between me and some of my friends, which, you say, they impute to my having differed from them in my political conduct. I did, indeed, differ from them when they differed from others who were equally friends to them and me, and to whom I was bound by very great obligations, greater than I had received from them or any others. The difference gave me pain; but it seemed to me a less evil to differ from them, than from myself, and from all the rules which hitherto have guided my conduct. That has ever been perfectly consistent and uniform. From the time that I first went into the King's service, on Lord Granville's going out, I have lived in sincere and constant friendship with those Ministers whom I came in to support. I loved Mr. Pelham: I had great cause to love him; he honoured me with his friendship; he gave me such proofs of it, as my heart will ever feel with gratitude and pride. When I had the misfortune to lose him, I continued to live in the same connexion of friendship with his brother, the

* In Lyttelton's own handwriting.

1755. Duke of Newcastle, and his friend Lord Hardwicke. As a mark that I did so, I accepted a high office in the new settlement of the administration; but in taking this part, you well know, I was not single: I took it in conjunction with my friends and relations; I took it at their express desire. The only distinction between them and me is, that I have adhered to it, not seeing any cause to depart from my engagements, or alter my attachments: if they think they saw proper cause for altering theirs, I let them judge for themselves, and should not have thought it necessary, or expedient, or becoming, to break off our private friendship on that account, if they had not chosen to do it, very unwisely, I think. You know, Sir, how much I was their friend—a friend who on all occasions has ever set their interests above his own. Were Mr. Pelham alive he would testify this, and there are some living Ministers who could bear the same testimony; but I desire no witnesses to the truth of all I say except their own hearts. I was their friend, but I was not their retainer. I was not their bondslave. I was not obliged to follow wherever they led, against my own conscience, against what I thought and still continue to think, my honour and my duty required. That would not be friendship; it would be servility and baseness of mind. Every generous spirit must loath and disdain it. I do not believe any one of those gentlemen expected it from me: certain I am that I never gave them cause to conceive such a thought. I would not, for all the crown can give, serve the King on such terms. When I dislike the

measures of his Government, I will lay down my office and oppose them; but while I think them good and wise, founded on the same principles, and directed to the same ends as those I have approved, in concert with my friends and family, for many years past, let who will oppose them, I shall not be sorry, or ashamed to support them. 1755.

"A parasite or a sycophant, to make his court for a faction which appears very powerful, may abuse me for this, and call it (if he pleases) *deserting my friends;* but that no worthy man will think the worse of me for it, I dare be confident, and therefore willingly trust my cause to your judgment."

It does not appear to whom this letter was sent, but probably to General Conway, with whom Lyttelton had formed rather an intimate acquaintance. This gentleman, the brother of Lord Hertford, had been appointed Secretary to Ireland, to assist the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset, in restoring tranquillity to that ever troubled kingdom He was a person of no mean endowments, both natural and acquired, and was in correspondence with Lyttelton at this time.

"Dublin Castle, December 12th, 1755.

"Dear Sir,

"I am much ashamed of the appearance of neglect you may have too much reason to think there is against me in not having taken an earlier opportunity of congratulating you on the new mark of his Majesty's

1555. favour you have received, and assuring you of my sincere satisfaction in everything that any way contributes to yours. I must not mix compliments of condolence for your predecessor with those of congratulations to you; but I believe we shall agree in wishing he had not been, or were not to be lost, as I doubt he will.

"I hear of nothing but your wars and battles in this fierce Parliamentary campaign, in which I rejoice to hear you have Providence and *le plus fort escadron* so much on your side: may it long continue! but if a certain ally on their side becomes a principal, as I apprehend, I fear their numbers will improve, though I hope not their fortune.

"Lady Ailesbury has been as idle as I have, but has not the excuse of being half so busy; in truth, never were two lives that past so much together so much unlike even of husbands and wives. She does nothing but what she likes, at least what she pleases, and I nothing I like from morning to night; being in a constant state of the most tormenting little business, for so the generality of it is, though I am naturally and *en titre d'office a gras*, statesman, and at once both Secretary at War, and Secretary of State: if some of your friends, or rather foes, have any of Cæsar's ambition, or Satan's, and think it enough to be in high station, be it when it will, I would most willingly resign my pre-eminence; as far, at least, as inclination goes; being heartily tired of it, for reasons I shall have more time to tell you one day or other.

"I can say little to you on the late melancholy

accident in my Lord Lieutenant's family: it was felt as sorely as you'll imagine, both by the Duke and the rest of them; in truth, to a degree very painful to those about them, and who love and honour that very singular affection that reigned among them. 1755.

"Adieu, dear Sir: I left a sentence unfinished above, in which I was going to say, that by our idleness we have heard less of you and Lady Lyttelton both than we wish. I believe you hate writing, and have little time for idle correspondencies, which, in truth, prevented my troubling you before, as I think, in such a state of banishment, it must be a mean correspondence indeed that is not worth purchasing at the rate of such a scrawl as this.

"Accept my best compliments to you both, and to the Governor, particularly in his new appointment, and believe me,

"Dear Sir,
"your most
"faithful and obedient servant,
"H. S. Conway."

Only a part of Lyttelton's answer is preserved.

"Dear Sir,

"I am as much ashamed of not having writ to you in so long a time as you say you are of not having writ to me; but we are both of us busier than we could wish, and can trust in each other's affection without having assurances of it under our

1755. hands. I need not tell you, to whom I am so well known, that I should have thought myself a much happier man if Legge had remained in his office, than in being his successor; but when he and his new allies had taken such a part, as made it impossible for him to continue Chancellor of the Exchequer, the offer of succeeding him was made to me in so very obliging and pressing a manner, not only from the Duke of Newcastle, but also from the King, that I could not in duty and honour refuse it; being, as I am, entirely convinced that the measures of Government are such as I ought in conscience to support, and that everything has been done that possibly could be done, to obtain the support of those who, for reasons I cannot approve, have put themselves at the head of the opposition made to them; an opposition from which I foresee many consequences, of very great detriment and danger to the republick. The storm rises high, and beats fiercely upon me; but God forbid that to shelter myself from its fury I should run into any harbour, while my friends think I can do them and my country any service by being at sea.

"I have this satisfaction, and a great one it is, that I find the publick in general approves of my promotion. The King is gracious to me beyond all my hopes, and I have all the marks I can desire of the most friendly and cordial regard and support from the whole administration." * * *

In December debates took place on a motion made 1755.
by the brilliant and eccentric George Townshend, for a committee to inquire into the laws relating to the militia. Pitt unfolded his own plans on them with "plain precision," and masterly clearness. H. Walpole, who tells us this, adds, "As it did not pass the Lords, I shall drop any further account of it till it came thither, except to mention some pretty homage which Sir George Lyttelton's awe made him pay to the genius of his offended friend Mr. Pitt:" (any one else would have praised Lyttelton's candour, a quality which was universally ascribed to him)—"after the latter's exposition of his plans, Sir George compared a militia to the longitude, necessary, but hitherto sought in vain. He had often, he said, heated his imagination with the topic, but his judgment had cooled it again. If soldiers assisted the plan, he should hope better of it. They might avoid the errors of civil men. That hints from Mr. Pitt were important advices—a sketch from him was almost a finished picture, but it ought to be finished, the lines ought to be very correct. The whole people would not betray the whole people, but sixty thousand might. The most material part of our affairs was our finances—if this institution would hurt them, it was not admissible. The smaller the number, the more practicable—yet there might be danger of another kind. He never wished to see foreigners, except when no other force was to be had—with ever so great a militia, you may want them—you cannot march militia abroad."

On the 10th and 12th of December fierce debates took

1755. place on the treaties. Hume Campbell (Lord Marchmont's brother) made a very powerful attack upon Pitt's system of invectives; but was annihilated in Pitt's reply, by a discharge from the weapon which he deprecated. "Sir George Lyttelton said he did not mean to restrain invectives—desired no man's mouth should be free from them but his own—urged that the treaty specified, if we were attacked ourselves, that we should not be obliged to furnish twelve ships to Muscovy: that if either treaty tended to war, or to provoke Prussia, they would deserve censure; but they were merely defensive:—the troops were not to move unless we required it—defence is not injury—provision is not provocation. The King of Prussia would have a higher esteem for our Government; he knows that whoever desires peace must prepare for war. Despair is the worst and weakest of councils. Fortitude and wisdom will find resources, as the Queen of Hungary did in 1741. We (were) not in so bad a situation by a thousand degrees. Had we then retained the Russians, the war had been prevented: hence there were no plans of partition. Unallied, we could make no diversion to France—France, unassisted, would not dare to disturb the peace of the empire. Would you have trusted to France for not violating the law of nations? *Cæsar ashamed! has he not seen Pharsalia?* Our trade would not be preserved if the balance of Europe overturned, nor that balance overturned without some assistance from hence. Subsidiary treaties must be struck at lucky moments when the occasion offers itself." Legge answered Lyttelton. Pitt made

a remarkable declaration in favour of Sir R. Walpole, 1755.
that both he and Lord Townshend "had withstood Hanover," that the former was "a truly English minister, and kept a strict hand on the closet—as soon as he was removed, the door was flung open." Ministers had a majority of 289 to 121. On bringing up the report, Pitt answered Murray, Dr. Hay, and Lord Egmont, "in a speech of most admirable and ready wit, that floated from him for the space of an hour and half." The Russian treaty was approved by 263 to 69, the Hessian by 259 to 72.

The Parliament then adjourned for the Christmas holidays; during the recess, sundry changes were settled in the administration. The Duke of Bedford was propitiated, by the appointment of his brother-in-law, Lord Gower, to the Privy Seal. Charles Townshend was dismissed; Doddington restored to his old place of lucre and jobbing, the Treasurership of the Navy. Other appointments were made, and pensions, places, and reversions lavished in the most unscrupulous manner, by the Duke of Newcastle, in the vain hope of securing to his "little petulant mechanic activity,"* a longer lease of power unshared by Pitt. H. Walpole follows up an enumeration of these abuses by a very striking picture of the House of Commons "in so rhetorical an age;" he says, "But if this traffic, for a partial revolution in a system still upheld, was scandalously inglorious, at least it called forth a display of abilities that revived the lustre of the House of

* Charles Townshend's description of the Duke, his great uncle. Vol. i. p. 468.

1756. Commons, and in the point of eloquence carried it to a height it perhaps had never known. After so long a close of genius, there at once appeared near thirty men, of whom one was undoubtedly a real orator, a few more most masterly, many very able, not one was a despicable speaker. Pitt, Fox, Murray, Hume Campbell, Charles Townshend, Lord George Sackville, Henry Conway, Legge, Sir George Lyttelton, Oswald, George Grenville, Lord Egmont, Nugent, Doddington, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Lord Strange, Beckford, Elliot, Lord Barrington, Sir George Lee, Martin, Dr. Hay, Northey, Potter, Ellis, Lord Hillsborough, Lord Duplin, and Sir Francis Dashwood: these men, perhaps, in their several degrees, comprehended all the various powers of eloquence, art, reasoning, satire, learning, persuasion, with business, spirit, and plain common sense. Eloquence, as an art, was but little studied, but by Pitt: the beauties of language were a little, and but a little more cultivated, except by him and his family; yet the grace and force of words were so natural to him, that when he avoided them, he almost lost all excellence." The writer proceeds with an elaborate criticism on Pitt's eloquence, rating it most highly, though admitting its great inferiority in point of argument to that of Murray especially, but also to that of Fox. He enters into detail of but few of the rest, but he observes "Sir George Lyttelton, and Legge were as opposite in their manners—the latter concise and pointed, the former diffuse and majestic—Legge's speeches seemed the

heads of chapters to Sir George Lyttelton's disser- 1756.
tations."

During the course of the winter, a treaty was made with the King of Prussia to prevent the introduction of foreign troops into the empire. The object was—under the plea of aiding the House of Austria—to prevent the Russians in our pay from attacking Frederic, the consequence was, that the Court of Vienna perceiving that it had no further chance of British assistance in recovering Silesia, made peace with the common enemy, France, and was joined by the Czarina, and the elector of Saxony. Then began the most memorable period of Frederic's glory, who struck the first blow on enemies yet unprepared. As to England, it was clear that a continental war, or the shameful desertion of her only ally was her sole alternative. Pitt saw his day could not be far distant.

Parliament met again in January, and still, for all accounts of what passed within its walls, we must rely chiefly upon Walpole's Memoirs of George the Second; bearing always in mind the necessity of carefully distinguishing between the *facts* related, and the comments of their narrator, discoloured by petty antipathies, and the constant sacrifice of truth to epigram. On the 23rd of January we are told,* "Sir George Lyttelton, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, opened the ways and means for the supplies of the year. The matter he unfolded well, but was strangely awkward and absent in reading the figures, and dis-

* Vol. ii. p. 3, 4.

1756. tinguishing the sums. Pitt ridiculed and beset him, yet he made a good reply, and told Pitt that truth was a better answer than eloquence; and having called him *his friend*, and correcting himself to say *the gentleman*, and the house laughing, Sir George said, "if he is not my friend, it is not *my* fault. Pitt was sore in his turn, and the dialogue continued with great professions of esteem from Lyttelton, of contempt from Pitt, who at last grew into good humour; but as with regard to the imputation of eloquence, said he found there were certain ways of annoying certain men." The same author, in his private letter to General Conway, says, "yesterday, our friend Sir George opened the budget; well enough in general, but was strangely bewildered in the figures. Pitt attacked him pretty warmly on negociating the sinking fund. Sir George kept up his spirit, and returned the attack on eloquence. It was entertaining enough, but ended in high compliments—and the division was 231 to 56." Then followed debates on employing foreign troops and foreign officers in America with certain English privileges, which the opposition contended, was a breach of the Act of Settlement.*

On February the 25th, Lyttelton "opened the plan of supplies and taxes for the current year. The first, a duty on wrought plate calculated to bring in £30,000. a year; another on bricks and tiles, and a double duty on cards and dice; the actual duty produced £10,000. a year, but as doubling the tax would not double the produce, the addition was estimated at only £7,000.

* Vol. ii. p. 24.

a year. 'This,' said Sir George, 'some will think a tax on *necessaries;* the legislature calls gaming a vice, but the legislators, who can best expound their own laws, seem by their practice to think otherwise.' Legge objected to either tax on plate or bricks, and shewed with singular art how much greater a master he was of the nature of the revenue and commerce, than his successor. Sir George seemed to repeat an oration on trade, that he had learned by rote; Legge talked on it like a merchant. He urged that plate was not a prejudicial commodity, but a dead treasure to be resorted to on emergency:—if sold, it would go abroad, if coined here, it did not increase the national stock. He shewed that bricks would be a partial tax, as many parts of the kingdom employ only stone." George Townshend, Murray, Lord Strange, Vyner, took part in the debate; the plate tax eventually passed, but the tax on bricks was exchanged for one on alehouses. It will be seen by Lyttelton's letters how nearly Government were defeated, and why. On the first reading of their bill on the third of March, came the report from the committee on the plate tax. Walpole's account of what ensued is very remarkable. "It was a day of total ignorance, Fox, Hume Campbell, and Pitt, all shewed how little they understood the subject. The shrewdness of the first, the assertions of the second, the diction of the latter were ridiculously employed on a topic that required only a common sense, and a little knowledge of business. Legge alone shone. He entered beyond his usual brevity into a detail of the nature of coin, exchange, gold, silver, 1756.

1756. premiums, and the mistaken or real advantage of those manufactures. He observed that this plate was not luxury, that this tax would cease where luxury began, for the greatest lords were not to pay beyond 2,000 ounces,* but a national way of hoarding," &c. He answered Locke's first treatise, and remarked on the uses which Louis XIV. and Charles I. had made of this resource.

On the second reading of the bill, Legge renewed, with greater vehemence, his attack upon the tax: he said, that if gathered loosely, it would not be worth having, and if strictly, it would amount to triple its estimate; that France would think us bankrupt for resorting to such a last resource, used only in such extremities as sieges and civil wars; that our silversmiths would go to France, and a manufacture paying labour alone £30,000. a year, be lost to the country; that it was our register of personal estate, and an invitation to the housebreaker. It will be seen that some of Legge's hints were adopted before the measure became law.

"Sir George Lyttelton remarked that Legge's arguments were against all inland duties in general, and that as little wealth ought to lie dead as possible. That on laying the coach tax, the coach makers came to the treasury, and complained that they should be ruined, yet the trade had increased since. If we took a galleon would it be advisable to lay up a treasure against a day of calamity? He defended the method of collecting this duty by excisemen; did not find that

* It was increased to 4,000; vide Lyttelton's letter.

excise was now so terrible. Sir Francis Dashwood had proposed an excise on meat, and he had not perceived that it had much shocked the house. 'In fact, no powers,' he said, 'were more gently exercised than those of excise,'—(with what satisfaction must Sir Robert Walpole's son have heard and noted down these words!)—'no complaint had been made on the coach tax; this was to be under the same regulation: our trade would not bear more customs, nor could we support the war but by a despotic mortgage of the whole sinking fund; his chief partiality to the plate tax arose from the poor being exempt from it.'" Lyttelton was followed by George Grenville, who spoke well against the tax, chiefly censuring it as a tax to be paid on honour. It was carried by 245 to 142. Fox, it is said, preventing Newcastle from abandoning it; its produce was £18,000. 1756.

It will be recollected, that Lyttelton's brother Charles was in holy orders; that Sir Richard continued in opposition with Pitt, and that William Henry had been appointed Governor of the South Carolinas, on his way to which he had been captured, but immediately set at liberty by the French.* He seems to have been Lyttelton's favourite brother: to him Lyttelton wrote a sort of journal of all the memorable events in the political world, till his return from America.†

These letters, written by one who had access to the best sources of information, form a very interesting portion of the MSS. at Hagley.

The first is as follows:—

* Pitt's Letters to Lord Camelford.

† Extending from 1756 to 1766.

1756. "Hill Street, April 28, 1756.

"My dear Billy,

"I have delayed writing to you some time, in order to tell you some news of importance. That which at present employs our thoughts most, is an intelligence we have just received that the Duc de Richelieu set sail for Minorca on the 12th of this month, at the head of an army of 16,000 men, escorted by a squadron which, according to the best accounts we can get, consists of eight capital ships of the line, two more armed *en flute* without their lower tier of guns, and two fifty-gun ships, besides three or four frigates. To oppose them, Bing and West are gone with a squadron of ten great ships of the line extremely well manned, so that the force is pretty near equal, exclusive of a small squadron under Commander Edgcombe, which is in Port Mahon Harbour. It was supposed that these would join Bing in the Bay of Gibraltar, but Edgcombe has thought proper (and Lord Anson says not unwisely) to remain in Port Mahon Harbour, and keeps his ships and seamen to be employed in the defence of the harbour and fort. It is, therefore, very probable that the French fleet will fight ours, as they are rather superior; and upon the success of that battle the fate of the peace may in great measure depend: because, if Bing be victorious, he will reinforce the garrison there with a regiment he has on board, and several officers, and putt the besieging army under great difficulties for want of provisions. You will ask why he was not sent out with more strength? I can make you

no answer but that Lord Anson thought he had no more to spare, and it was hoped he would arrive at Minorca before the French could get thither; and being joined with Commodore Edgecombe, who has two ships of the line, a fifty gun ship, and two frigates, would be more than a match for the Toulon squadron; but this hope has failed by a few days. In all probability the French got to Minorca by the 17th or 18th, and he could hardly be there till about a week after. Sir John Ligonier tells me he thinks that the fort, if reinforced by Byng, may hold out two months. Many here seem very confident it will not be taken, particularly Lord Tyrawley: but I cannot help thinking that Monsieur de Richelieu* would not have putt himself at the head of this enterprise if he had not in his own mind been sure of success. Blakeney and Edgecombe write with great spirit, and as if they feared nothing. The first is a good officer, but rather superannuated. The other a mettled young man, without much experience or knowledge. Sir Edward Hawke is cruizing off of Brest, with a fleet of sixteen ships of the line. Some say the French have as many there ready to sail: but Lord Anson does not believe it. However, it is certain they are not 1756.

* One of the very few inaccuracies in Lord Mahon's 4th Vol. of the History of England, is an assertion, (p. 104,) that, "up to this time (i.e. the defence of Minorca) Richelieu had gained no distinction in arms." That he had served with great gallantry at Fontenoy is recorded by Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XV., c. 15., and by Lord Mahon himself, in an earlier volume. I owe this, as well as many other valuable remarks, while preparing this volume for the press, to the kindness of Mr. William Wynn.

1756. much inferior, and they have also a squadron at Rochefort.

"Boscawen is going with eight large ships more to join Hawke and Holbourne; but it is supposed that when he arrives, some of Hawke's will come home, as they have been out a great while. Two are gone, and two more are going soon to America to escort Lord Loudon's forces. Lord Anson tells me he designs to send Smith to Jamaica, and speaks with much disgust of West's having desired not to go thither. Indeed, officers should not object to any employment in time of service, and so says our good brother* as well as his Lordship. Hetty and I went to see him last week, and were two days with him at Deal, which made him very happy. I think he seems better than ever I knew him. Our new regiments are completed by the assistance of the Lord Lieutenants in their several counties; and to add to our regular disciplined troops, the Parliament has not only approved of the requisition his Majesty had made of his Hessians, but advised him to bring over eight thousand Hannoverians, with their train of artillery, &c. in the room of the Dutch, whom we had very prudently declined to accept of, upon the conditions they offered to come. The Hessians, we hope, will be here in a few days, and the Hannoverians soon afterwards. The consequence of this is, that the Marshal Bellisle and the French Ministry are much out of humour with the Duke de Mirepoix,

* Admiral Smith was Lyttelton's illegitimate brother; he was President of the Court-Martial on Byng.

for having made them believe that the bringing over foreign troops, Hannoverians especially, at this time into England, was a measure that could not be carried in Parliament. They say the success of it has disconcerted their whole design, and they much doubt whether, at present, it will be practicable to attempt the invading this kingdom. When the address for the Hannover troops was moved in the House, Mr. Pitt was in the country with a swelled face, which it was thought he would gladly avail himself of to avoid that debate; but Lord Temple went down and hauled him to the House, with blisters behind his ears, and flannel over his cheeks. The Tories, his Lordship told him, were all to be gained by it. Sir Richard had made a great dinner for them, and this would confirm the treaty of alliance. But he was scarce seconded by any of them in the House of Commons; and when the question came into the House of Peers, every Tory Lord, to a man, staid away. Lord Temple maintained the debate almost single; and Lord Winchelsea, who that day was inspired with wit beyond his usual powers, lashed him and his friends with greater severity and more cruel ridicule than I think I ever heard upon any occasion. His Lordship replied, but made little of it, and the mortification of the day was complete. In all probability they will not long be the better with the Prince of Wales himself, for having opposed a measure so necessary and so desired by the nation for the security of the kingdom he is to inherit. But all their politicks are of a piece, taken up in a heat, or founded on false and 1756.

1756. groundless presumptions. Since you went we have had some scuffles in Parliament about the Plate Tax. Mr. Legge, having declared that he would not oppose it at the first reading, our friends did not attend, and some of his having divided the House on the question, we carried it but by two votes. This gave a great and unpleasant alarm; but we rallied our forces, and had a great debate on the second reading, in which, I am told, I gained some honour, and had the pleasure of carrying the question by a majority of more than a hundred. Mr. Pitt was not there, being confined by his cold and swelled face. Mr. Fox took his part very fairly and zealously upon the occasion. In order to remove the most weighty objections against the bill, it was thought proper to tax no plate below a hundred ounces, so to levy but five shillings on that, and advance by five shillings more on every hundred ounces as far as four thousand, which brings the highest sum to ten pounds as before, but makes the tax less unequal, and better proportioned. I was myself very desirous of making this alteration, to give greater ease to the lower sort of people, by whom alone this tax would be painfully felt. The only objection to it was, that it would lessen the revenue proposed to be raised by it; but as the licences were like to produce a considerable surplus, I was not much concerned at the loss. People in general were satisfied with it, and I flatter myself the opposition to the Plate Tax will not be more popular than that to the Prussian and Hessian Treaties.

"Besides the six millions for which we have provided,

there must soon be voted £500,000. for the Hessians, Hannoverians, and regiments brought from Ireland, since I opened my Budget. There must also be a vote of credit for a million, which, I suppose, will not go off without opposition. The sinking fund will produce the £500,000. besides what was wanting to raise the six millions, as it is to be hoped that our trade will not decrease much this year by the war, and there is now in the Exchequer £250,000. produced by it from Christmas to Lady Day last, which having no charge upon it, may be taken immediately to answer a part of our present demands. Four quarters more, I doubt not, will produce all the rest that we want, if some grievous calamity does not befall us. The loss of Port Mahon would be a bad stroke in our Mediterranean trade, and I am afraid the French squadron that is gone to America will take some rich prizes there, before we can send such a force to those parts as may protect our merchants, and even our islands. However, I hope it will not be very long before we shall be superior, both in those seas and the Mediterranean; for when our foreign troops are arrived, we shall not be obliged to keep so great a fleet for the defence of our coasts as we have been under the necessity of doing till now. I cannot learn where Commodore Keppel is gone—perhaps it is to America, or perhaps he may join Byng at Gibraltar. It is certainly better that the service he is upon is kept a secret than if it was known. I do not exactly know what force he has with him. 1756.

1756. "The fate of the Militia Bill is yet undetermined, but I believe it will pass the House of Commons, and be thrown out of the House of Lords. For my own part I must own I wish it success, more, I am sure, than those who brought it in, and meant nothing else by it than to hurt the administration by the unpopularity of throwing it out. There are many objections to it, and many great difficulties that will attend the execution of it, if it should pass; but I would have something attempted to putt this nation in a better and more permanent state of defence than our occasional armaments, when the danger is instant, than the uncertain resource of bringing over foreign troops can possibly give. Should France begin her next war against England (as she probably will) with a naval force not inferior to that of this kingdom, and no diversion in our favour can be made on the Continent, we may be invaded and ruined before such an augmentation of our land forces can be completed, or such an assistance brought over from Germany as would enable us to make any resistance.

"Now, my dear Billy, I have told you all I can concerning the present state of our publick affairs, everything else remaining much as you left it. As for my health, my journey to Deal has done me good. My wife is still very full of complaints, and I believe much out of order. All the rest of the family are very well.

* * * *

"We flatter ourselves that you are by this time arrived in your Government.

" All happiness and prosperity attend you there, my dear brother." 1756.

About this time a panic of the French invasion alluded to in these letters had seized Great Britain. It was a moment—a short moment, but one of memorable disgrace to this country. " I remember (says Mr. Burke) in the beginning of what has lately been called the seven years' war, that an elegant writer, and ingenious speculator, Dr. Browne,* upon some reverses which happened in the beginning of that war, published an elaborate philosophical discourse, to prove that the distinguishing features of the people of England had been totally changed, and that a frivolous effeminacy was become the national character. Nothing could be more popular than that work. It was thought a great consolation to us, the light people of this country, (who were and are light, but who were not and are not effeminate), that we had found the causes of our misfortunes in our vices. Pythagoras could not be more pleased with his leading discovery. But whilst in that splenetic mood we amused ourselves in a sour critical speculation, of which we were ourselves the objects, and in which every man lost his particular sense of the public disgrace in the epidemic nature of the distemper: whilst, as in the Alps *Goître* kept *Goître* in countenance; whilst we were thus abandoning ourselves to a direct confession of our inferi-

* See Davies' Life of Garrick, Vol. i. p. 197, and Walpole's Memoirs of George the Third, for some accounts of this author and his writing, Vol. ii. p. 79.

1756. ority to France, and whilst many, very many, were ready to act upon a sense of that inferiority, a few months effected a total change in our variable minds. We emerged from the gulph of that speculative despondency, and were buoyed up to the highest point of practical vigour. Never did the masculine spirit of England display itself with more energy, nor ever did its genius soar with a prouder pre-eminence over France, than at the time when frivolity and effeminacy had been at least tacitly acknowledged as their national character by the good people of this kingdom."

Such is the remarkable language of Mr. Burke, describing the whole duration of the period of which we are now at the beginning. It was impossible that the people should feel confidence in a Government who sent for Hessians and Hanoverians to protect our shores. Pitt's voice, in spite of his blisters and flannels, was heard thundering, more powerfully than Lyttelton tells his brother, against such an acknowledgment of pusillanimity. "Were we to engage mercenaries because France did? She had not blood enough in her own veins for the purposes of universal monarchy. There was no administration. One was head of the treasury, one of the navy, one of the army; but when they were attacked they shifted and shuffled the charge from one to the other: the general said he was not the treasurer, the treasurer that he was not the admiral. From such an unaccording assemblage of separate and distinct powers with no system, a nullity resulted."

This declamation spoke the truth. But it must be admitted that the militia bill, the only substitute for a foreign sword, ill understood and conducted as it was, deserved Walpole's name of a "distant and forlorn *succedaneum*." A militia bill is not an army, Lyttelton observes in his fourth letter to his brother. Early in April it was discovered that the preparations of the French at Toulon had been intended for the invasion of defenceless Minorca. On May the 11th Fox delivered a message from the Crown upon this subject, and the treaty with Prussia. On the next day Lyttelton moved for a vote of credit for a million. It was much canvassed. The sums already lavished were enumerated; the incapacity of Newcastle was stated as the real cause of the lowering state of affairs, equally in America and the Mediterranean: might not common providence on the part of the minister have averted the perils which threatened us in both these quarters. Lyttelton replied that the money would be restricted and subjected. Were Government to be deserted on their first misfortune; or because one had happened were we not to guard against another? If indeed our coasts had been left insecure, ministers would be blameable; but it was their security which enabled the supplies to be raised, and when the foreign troops arrived our fleet would be at liberty. 1756.

"Pitt made a fine lamentation on the calamitous situation of affairs and the incapacity of the ministers." He asked for what the vote was intended.—"If Sir George could not say for what it was designed, would he at least peremptorily say for what it was *not* de-

1756. signed? Still, he was of so compounding a temper, that he would assent, though votes of credit had been so much abused." He alluded to Mr. Pelham, who, he said, had been dragged into foreign resources by one who had now got the treasury; compared the Duke of Newcastle to a child driving a go-cart to the edge of a precipice in which was the precious freight of the old king and his family; prayed God that the king might not have Minorca as well as Calais written on his heart; and concluded by proposing to take the words of the last vote of credit. "Sir George Lyttelton answered with great modesty, that the administration had not suffered by Mr. Pelham's death except by his advancement. Let it be considered who was at the head of the treasury, admiralty, chancery, &c.; could it be said that we had done nothing, when we had taken 8000 French seamen? Here he would rest the whole: no one calamity had happened yet." George Grenville followed; praised Lord Anson, and hinted that if his advice had been followed, forces would have been sent to the Mediterranean. It would appear, however, from Lyttelton's second letter that Anson was not without blame. Fox defended, it must have been a hard task to him, the delay. Then occurred the following scene.

"Pitt took little notice of Fox, only rising again to lash Sir George Lyttelton, who had called it an opposal of epithets: very little proper to come from him, said he, whose character is a composition of epithets. But what! did we meet as an academy of compliments? but Lyttelton had mistaken the day, for himself, he

said, had used no epithets that day. If Lyttelton would say he had no more resources, he would tell him he was incapable, and when he disclaimed having had any hand in drawing the words of the question, he saw Sir George was not at liberty to change them. Lyttleton, much hurt, but firm, cried, he says I am a thing made up of epithets; was not this the language of Billingsgate? The world complained that the house was turned into a bear-garden. He should not envy Mr. Pitt the character of being the Figg or Broughton of it; yet if he assumed fewer airs of superiority it would do him more honour. Pitt, redoubling contempt, said with a sneer, we once lived in a road of epithets together: Lord! that my friend, with whom I have taken sweet counsel of epithets, should now reproach me for using them! Lyttelton, he said, was a pretty poetical genius; with his pen in his hand nobody respected him more; but what! were not Billingsgate and Broughton epithets? He at once described Lyttelton as an *innocent*,* and would have fixed the use of invectives on him. Sir George terminated the altercation and debate by protesting it was not his fault if he did not still live in friendship with Mr. Pitt." 1756.

This seems to have been the last personal altercation between these two former and future friends. Reluctantly as Lyttelton was forced into these conflicts with an adversary so much more powerful and expert at his weapons, his bearing seems to have been

* Apparently a favourite phrase with the Great Commoner. See below his attack on Hume Campbell.

1756. always courageous and dignified. He never suffered himself to be crushed like Hume Campbell. Many under less provocation would have used that beautiful apostrophe—

> "Uncivil man,
> Here our long web of friendship I untwist."

But Lyttleton's great object was to discharge his public duty fearlessly and uprightly, though, if possible, in such a manner as not to preclude the possibility of a reconciliation with his earliest private friend. He might be "much hurt" by the unnecessary personalities of his old friend, but he was "firm" in maintaining his position — even according to Walpole. His own account will be seen below.

On May the 14th, Lyttelton opened the Prussian treaty to the house. It stipulated that the King of Prussia should pay £51,000 due on the Silesian loan. But admitted that £20,000 was due to him, which the Parliament was desired to grant. Pitt attacked a treaty which gave £20,000 to Frederick as compensation for ships which our Court of Admiralty had pronounced justly seized, and in vindication of which Murray and Lee had drawn up their famous unanswered memorial. Murray replied to Pitt with his utmost subtlety. The Committee, by a majority of 210 to 55, voted the money, and four days afterwards war was openly proclaimed with France.

We learn from Doddington's diary an anecdote as to the progress of the million voted in committee,

curiously illustrative of Lyttelton's character.* "May 17. I went to the Duke of Newcastle's. He would have talked about what had passed the day before in the House of Commons upon the committee of the Million Bill, which gives the Treasury the unlimited power of borrowing without limiting the rate of interest. Sir George Lyttelton's candour in opening it made him inform the House with this dangerous and unnecessary innovation, which produced a debate and division, when the Treasury rejected the limitation offered to be inserted by one voice only. None of us were acquainted with the innovation, or of Sir George's design to go into the committee that day, so that the numbers were but thirty-six and thirty-seven. I declined talking with his Grace on the subject, telling him it was too bad." It is strange that this incident should have escaped Walpole. 1756.

On the 27th of May the Parliament was prorogued. In June, the future George the Third attained the age prescribed for his majority. A circumstance that added to the embarrassments of the ministry; for the King was anxious to separate the Prince from his mother and Lord Bute, between whom a close and certainly suspicious intimacy existed; while the Prince, under their dictation, and aided by Legge and Pitt, respectfully, but firmly and successfully, resisted the attempt. The result was, that Lord Waldegrave, as honest a servant as ever Prince had, resigned his office of Governor to the Prince, and that Lord Bute

* Doddington's Diary, p. 386.

1756. was placed as Groom of the Stole to the new household.

On the 14th of July came the disgraceful tidings of the capture of Minorca by the French, an event to be rendered still more shameful to England by the judicial murder of Byng which followed it. Addresses poured in from every part of the country, and the terrified Duke of Newcastle so far prostituted his own high office, and the honour of the crown, as to make the King promise the city of London to screen no delinquent from justice.

Troubles fell like hail upon the perplexed Duke. At this time the death of Sir Dudley Rider left vacant the Lord Chief Justiceship. Murray demanded, " without a competitor, being above competition," the cherished object of his ambition. Unheard of offers, both as to pensions and places, mingled with abject entreaties, were made to him by the scared minister. Murray plainly told him, that if the Chief Justiceship were withheld, he would not remain Attorney-General, or give the slightest support to the Government. He was made Chief Justice and Lord Mansfield. Murray, (Walpole says) had been the Duke's buckler, both against his ally Fox, and against his antagonist Pitt.

Lyttelton's second letter to the Governor is in a very altered strain, but it contains a lively picture of the state of affairs in England, and in the Cabinet.

"Radway, August 8th, 1756. 1756.

"My Dear Billy,

"Or rather, (as you are now in your Government) may it please your Excellency, I heartily congratulate you upon your arrival in S. Carolina, and upon your finding all quiet there. How long the French will let you remain so, will, I presume, depend upon the success of our arms in the more northern parts. God send us better luck there than we have had in Europe, or this unhappy war will be our undoing. In my last letter, which I hope you have by this time received, I told you that we had sent a squadron of ten ships of the line to the Mediterranean under Admirals Byng and West. When they came to Gibraltar they were joined by Commodore Edgecombe with three more ships of the line, and four frigates, the Commodore having left Port Mahon Harbour upon the first notice of the French having landed at Citadella in Minorca. Byng had positive orders to do all he could to destroy the French fleet, and relieve Minorca. How he executed these orders you will see by the public papers, which I understand are sent over to you, and still better by the inclosed copy of a letter from Captain Young, which I send you as the most particular of any I have seen. I will only add to that account this aggravating circumstance, that had he destroyed the French fleet, as it evidently was in his power to do, there is the greatest reason to think their army would have raised the siege of St Philip: but having afterwards received a

1756. reinforcement from France of seven battalions, and all the artillery-stores and provisions they wanted, they made a desperate attack on all the outworks at once, sword-in-hand; and having carried three of them, and taken Colonel Jefferies, who was the second in command under Blakeney, the consequence was that the garrison, intimidated and despairing of any relief from our fleet, which they had seen retire from an inferior, or, at most, equal force of the enemy, surrendered upon an honourable capitulation. Sir John Ligonier says that he knows but one instance of a town having been taken by such an assault, and that was Valenciennes by Louis XIV. in the height of his glory; that if Blakeney had expected it, in all probability it would not have succeeded, or at least it must have cost the French a great many more men; and that he does not think the success of it would have made Blakeney surrender the fort, as the body of the place was still entire, if he and his garrison had not been disheartened by Byng's shameful retreat, and by their despair of any assistance. You will see by the papers that the Governor of Gibraltar had disobeyed the King's orders to send another regiment aboard of Byng's squadron besides what he took with him, or a detachment equal to it, for which he has since been recalled, and will soon be tried by a court-martial; but had the Admiral only landed that one in the fort, and beat off the French fleet from the coasts of Minorca, he would have done the great business for which he was sent, and probably changed the whole face of the war. To what his abominable behaviour

was owing it is hard to conceive; a sudden panic must have seized him, though he never was reckoned a coward before, or, as some people think, he must have been bribed by the French; but I rather impute it to an impression of terror which came over him on seeing the French fleet somewhat stronger than he had expected, for Edgecombe had told him, that when they came to Citadella there were but eight ships of the line, and four frigates. Whatever was the cause, the effect has been fatal, and should he die by the sentence of the court-martial which is going to sit upon him, (as he probably will, or by the hands of the mob if he should be acquitted) his death will make a poor satisfaction to his country for the mischief he has done it. Admiral West's behaviour has done him great honour, and he has been very graciously received by the King, though upon the first accounts that we had of the action, it had been thought necessary to send for him home as well as Byng. His evidence must be taken in the trial of the latter, and then, I believe, he will be made a Vice-Admiral, and sent out to another and higher command, unless the influence of the Grenvilles over his mind should make him quit the King's service and enter into theirs, as it possibly may. His son, who was with him, behaved like a hero, and shewed he had in him the blood of old Balchin. His father would have had him go into a frigate, but he begged with tears to stay in his ship, fought like a dragon, and when he was wounded in the thigh by a cannon ball, said to his father, who saw him fall, "*I* 1756.

1756. *believe I am killed, but pray don't mind me,*" and after the action, when his father lamented that he had not gone into the frigate, as he had desired him, his answer was, "*I had rather be wounded as much as I am, and worse, than not have been in the battle.*" It is hoped he will recover so as not to be a cripple. You know the temper of the nation too well to suppose that their anger for the loss of Minorca will be confined to Admiral Byng. All arts are used to inflame them against the Administration, and particularly against the Duke of Newcastle. His old friends, and worst enemies, are trying their utmost to make him responsible for this misfortune. The sum of their charge against his Grace, I take to be this:—Why was not a fleet yet stronger than this sent into the Mediterranean a month or two sooner? The answer is—because my Lord Anson and the whole Cabinet Council were unanimously of opinion that it could not be done with any security to the coasts of Great Britain. Lord Granville declared he thought it unsafe even to send this squadron so soon. The reason is, that the French designed to invade us, that they had a squadron at Brest, and at Rochefort, little inferior to ours in the Channel; that we had no defence but our ships to which we could trust; that we had lost a great number of our seamen by sickness; that as many were in hospital as aboard of our fleet, and that the enemy knew the state we were in as well as we ourselves. Upon the whole, as our shield was not broad enough to cover the whole body, it was

better to expose our limbs than our heart. This is the defence of the Cabinet Council, and they add besides, that if Byng had done his duty, the force they did send would have come time enough, and have been fully sufficient to relieve Port Mahon. There is truth and sense in all this, but truth and sense may not be able to prevail against clamour in an affair of this nature. However, I wish that there was no danger but to the Administration, in consequence of this blow. The worst evil is, that the nation is engaged in a ruinous war: the loss of Minorca will render it still more difficult for us to make a peace, and France will draw great advantages from it during the war; but the greatest danger of all is, that the firmness of Spain to her friendship with England may possibly yield to so great a temptation offered by France, as the restoring to her this island. Yet hitherto, God be thanked, the good faith of that nation, and the honour and virtue of the King of Spain have most nobly resisted those solicitations, and our ministry seem to rely with a great deal of security on the assurances given by our friend Mr. Wall, that his court will inviolably preserve their neutrality. Sweden, I hope, is too much taken up with domestic dissensions, of which you will see an account in the papers, to interfere in this foreign war; but we are under some apprehensions that Denmark may send a fleet into these seas, to protect their illicit commerce with France, which may draw us into a naval war with that kingdom. There is, however, less danger 1756.

1756. of this, as they will not now be assisted by Sweden, with whom they designed to act in conjunction. But on the other hand, the friendship of Russia to us, which was the strong curb both on Denmark and Sweden, may be cooled by the alienation of the Court of Vienna, who have taken such offence at our treaty with Prussia, though not in the least offensive to them, as to enter into a close connection with France. This most unnatural and absurd conduct in them, has produced such an alteration in the system of Europe, that the King of Prussia is now our surest ally, and our greatest apprehensions of mischief on the continent are from our old friends. As the ship which carries this letter may possibly be taken in her passage, I dare not write to you so fully and freely upon either our foreign or domestic affairs as I should otherwise do. I will only add that at home all remains as it was, but still more embroiled. Passion governs some persons instead of reason; and it is said that even the principal counsellors there, or he who expected to be the principal counsellor, and cannot even endure to be less, has expressed much disgust, and lost much of his credit on that account. The Queen of Hungary and he have acted much the same part, leaving their old and best friends from causeless suspicions and causeless resentments, and concerting with those whom they cannot go on with in any true friendship without undoing themselves.

"The French threaten us still with a great invasion, but we are now so prepared to resist them, that I hope

they will suffer by the attempt, or see the folly of it, 1756.
and give it up.

" My health is much better since the Parliament rose, and I hope to lay in a good stock of strength for the winter campaign. Mr. Murray will be made soon Chief Justice and a Peer, so the whole stress of the battle will fall every day on Fox and me. I fear we shall have difficulty enough to sustain it, *junctis umbonibus.* The last session concluded with a warm combat between Pitt and me. *Stetimus tela aspera contra contulimus que manus,** and if I may believe the whole voice of the publick, it ended with still more advantage to me than the former, which happened while you were in England. The Duke of Newcastle made his report of it to the King in these words, " Sir George Lyttelton answered Mr. Pitt's arguments and repelled his abuse, with the judgment of a minister, the force and wit of an orator, and the spirit of a gentleman." The King seemed much pleased, and asked Mr. Fox, who also confirmed his Grace's report, whether the House appeared to be on my side; Fox told him truly that it was very much so, at which he was so good as to express great satisfaction; nevertheless, you will believe me, when I say that I felt more pain in the contest, than pleasure in the success, and always shall avoid the having any with him, as far as I can; but if I were struck by Hercules, I should strike again.

" Adieu, my dear Billy, I am glad that the weather

* Afterwards applied by Mr. Canning to Mr. Brougham.

1756. was so temperate at your landing. When the great heat of the climate comes on, I hope you will stand it as well, and as stoutly as you would a French fire, if there should be occasion. I am going to Hagley, where I purpose to stay till the end of this month. My wife is complaining, but all the rest of the family, and all our friends are well. I am ever,

"My dear Billy,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"G. LYTTELTON."

The next letter to the Governor, contains the history of our disasters in North America, the continued panic of a French invasion, and an emphatic account of the amazement and admiration with which the exploits of the King of Prussia, whom England regarded as her last hope, filled Europe; and yet the writer does not seem to foresee the approaching dissolution of the Cabinet of which he was a member.

"London, Oct. 6th, 1756.

"MY DEAR BILLY,

"I HAVE just received your letter of the 19th of July, which gave me great pleasure in every particular, except the account that you give of your health. I don't like to hear of your having had indigestions and cholics; but as, notwithstanding the extraordinary heat and extraordinary business which you have gone through, you are still pretty well, I flatter myself the danger is over, and that you will be inured and seasoned to the climate, which will now mend upon

you every day. I pray God that the winter may not 1756.
bring on other perils, which neither you nor your Colony may be able to resist. We hear Oswego is taken by surprise, and from the accounts Lord Loudon sends of the condition and readiness in which he finds the American forces, I expect little good from this autumn's campaign, and apprehend a great deal of danger from the attempts that the French may make in the winter against our Southern Colonies, if it be true (as I hear) that they have stole over a considerable force of regular troops into Louisiana. However, I hope that all possible care will be taken by us here to prevent their designs. And the grants your Assembly has very wisely made for building the fort so much desired and wanted by your Indian allies, as well as fortifying Charles Town, may be of great use to secure you against them in all events. I have talked with Lord Anson about the convoy you ask, and though I am afraid we have no ships to spare, yet I think that his Lordship will pay such a regard to my solicitations, as well as to the importance of the Carolina trade, that it will be done to your satisfaction. He told me he would order an answer to be sent by the first ship, in which he would explain to you the most proper manner of protecting that trade, and give you all the strength he possibly could. I pressed him to go beyond the usual proportion, assuring him that I would think it a very great favour done to myself. He exprest a very hearty desire to oblige both you and me, and I hope the effects will make good those professions. I wrote to you lately a very long letter by the

1756. 'Charming Nancy,' Captain White. I hope she will escape the French in her passage, and deliver it safe; for though I wrote with some reserve, I should be sorry to have it miscarry. This, I think, comes to you by a safe hand, and I will write somewhat more freely, as he has promised me to throw it overboard if the ship should be taken. Our domestic affairs are mended so much since I wrote to you last, that the two Courts are come to a good understanding. The Prince of Wales is to have his family settled to his own satisfaction, Lord Bute being to be made his Groom of the Stole, which was the condition, *sine quâ non*, of this treaty; and he is also to stay with the Princess his mother. In return they are to make the proper returns of gratitude and duty and union with the King. Whether in consequence of this Mr. Pitt and his brothers will accede to the Government, I cannot tell, nor even if the Government will offer such terms to them as they can accept, or any terms at all. But the difficulty of the times and the temper of the Ministry incline me to think that they would be treated with now, if they were in tractable dispositions. Their dispositions, I suppose, will be sounded; much will depend on the credit they think they shall preserve at Leicester House, after this accommodation. Legge, it is thought, has the chief credit there; perhaps he may be treated with easier than they. If they remain still in opposition, it may possibly be opposition for life. One difficulty they will have in coming in now, is the intemperate language talked by Pitt the last session. Strong declarations against any support to

the German dominions in any event, and violent abuse of the whole Administration with whom he must act, if he comes into Government, will be unpleasant impediments in his way, and not forgotten by the House of Commons. Affairs abroad have taken a very strange turn. The King of Prussia having had clear and undeniable proofs of a league formed against him by the Courts of Vienna, Petersburg, Dresden, and France, which was to be executed next year, and intended no less than his utter destruction, resolved to repel the blow, and fall on his enemies before they were ready to attack him. His resolution was executed with a celerity that no power in Europe can act with but he. At the head of an army of 60,000 men he marched into Saxony, and possessed himself of that country without any resistance in a very short time. But the King is retired to a very strong fort, under the Castle of Koningstein, with about 116,000 men. This is an obstacle in the way of his Prussian Majesty; but it is supposed that before this he has either forced the King of Poland to an accommodation, or attacked him in his camp. In the meanwhile he has sent two armies into Bohemia, where General Brown has drawn some forces together which will be probably put between two fires. The Russians will not be ready this year to come into the Empire, and it is a doubt whether France can or will give any speedy and effectual assistance to her new friend in the present conjuncture. The King of Prussia writes to his Minister here with the utmost confidence of success in this vigorous enterprise. A very short time will shew whether that 1756.

1756. confidence is well or ill founded. If the King of Poland submits, and Brown is beat, probably the Queen of Hungary will be forced to give up her unnatural French alliance, for all her Ministry are against it, Count Kaunitz excepted, and will gladly avail themselves of any events that can disgust her of it and break it. But if the Prussian arms receive any check, she will obstinately adhere to the part she has taken, and the consequences next year may be fatal to Prussia, as the Russians may then break into that Duchy, and the French not only succour the Queen in Bohemia, but make themselves masters of Cleves, and from thence invade Hanover, which is the great object they have in view. Against that danger we must necessarily make some provision, an unpleasant thing in our circumstances, and not very easy to be done so effectually as we could wish, if the King of Prussia should meet with any misfortune. But our situation would still have been worse if we had joined with the Queen of Hungary to attack him; and that we would not do so is the sole cause of her having gone into these with France. Had we complied with her madness, and bought her friendship upon those terms, France would then have united with Prussia; and as he was apprized of all her designs, they would have probably been defeated this year before we could have brought the Russians to act in the Empire against him. We should have then been most justly accused of having lighted up a Continental war, against the faith of treaties, in conjunction with an ally whose slowness and weakness had almost undone us in the last war; and to

gratify passions which had been before indulged a great deal too much. It would have been said that the treaty with Russia was (as the opposition declared it), offensive; that it had thrown the King of Prussia into the arms of France, and brought on all the calamities so eloquently predicted by Mr. Pitt. Whereas now, whoever shall blame the conduct of England, must say that we ought to have joined the Queen of Hungary in an offensive league against Prussia, for the recovery of Silesia to her, against our own express guarantee; and it would be curious to hear those gentlemen take that language next session, who declared so loudly in the last for a union with Prussia, as the only means of salvation to England, and painted the danger and mischief of any quarrel with him in such horrible colours. I will say no more on this subject, but that in all probability, the spirit of Popery has helped to drive the very bigotted Court of Vienna into these schemes, and that the oppression of the Protestant Religion in Germany, is at the heart of the Empress, as well as the recovery of Silesia, in the alliance contracted with France. The same spirit has alienated her from our friendship, and may possibly draw other Catholick Powers into a League with France against England. But the celerity of the King of Prussia may stop all these projects before they are matured, and preserve us as well as himself. God send him success, *for there is no other that fighteth for us*, and I am sure we have need of some help. The bearer of this, Mr. Lockwood, has an appeal to your Excellency, and your Court, and desires me to 1756.

1756. recommend him to your protection, so far as the justice of his cause will permit. By his own account great wrong has been done him; he seems a modest, discreet and sensible man. I add that all the family are well, except my wife, who is still ailing. I go to Hagley to-morrow for a week. Adieu, my dear Billy, Heaven protect and bless you. I am ever from my soul,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"G. LYTTELTON."

"Considering the character of the King of Prussia, it is not impossible that he may make peace with the Empress this year, and leave us in the lurch; but the danger is greater, if he should be defeated. For if he succeeds, it is most probable that he will chuse to make peace for us, as well as himself, in order to preserve the friendship of England, which might be of great use to him in future occasions. I can hardly believe that France will desire to have Silesia restored to the Empress. For in all permanent views, it is against her true interest. I have shewn the Duke of Newcastle your letters. He is much pleased with your conduct, and will support very strongly your request to Lord Anson. So will Lord Hallifax, whom I saw this morning. His Lordship also expressed very great satisfaction in what you had done, and great good will to you. He is much as he was with the Ministry, but he seems very friendly to me."

Fox, sick of Newcastle's treacherous dealings with him, knowing that the King had not forgiven him for supplanting Robinson, and having no fancy for

defending the loss of Minorca against Pitt, resigned about the middle of October. The Duke's position was desperate; after some abortive writhings to retain power, and attempts, haughtily repulsed, to negotiate with Pitt, seeing the terrific storm which was darkening all around, and his "nudum remigio latus," he at last actually resigned. "He was followed (says Lord Waldegrave) by his friend the Earl of Hardwicke, who resigned the Great Seal, much to the regret of all dispassionate men, and indeed of the nation in general." One of the last acts of this Government was to create Lyttelton (who also resigned his office) a Peer, by the title of Baron Lyttelton of Frankley in the County of Worcester. 1756.

It was obvious that Pitt alone could form the new ministry. With Newcastle or Fox he steadily refused to act, much to the discomfiture of both. He chose the Foreign Secretaryship for himself, made Legge Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Temple first Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Devonshire became first Lord of the Treasury, and the Duke of Bedford Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The two following letters from Lyttelton to his brother the Governor, give a full account of all that passed in the political world upon Pitt's advent to power.

"Hill Street, Nov. 25th, 1756.

"My dear Governour,

"If you are not killed, or taken prisoner by the French (as you may if some news I have heard should be true) this is to inform you, that since I wrote to you last, Mr. Fox having determined

1756. to lay down the seals, because, as he said, he had not support, or power enough to carry on the King's business in the House of Commons, considering the great difficulties that would attend it this Session, an offer was made of them to Mr. Pitt; but he refused to serve under the Duke of Newcastle, who, he said, as Prime Minister, was answerable for the misfortunes and misconduct of the war; and that to *reassure and reanimate the people of England*, another head of the Administration was absolutely necessary; and he pointed out the Duke of Devonshire to be that head, in a conversation with Lady Yarmouth, whom he then made a visit to for the first time in his life, though the negotiation with him had been opened by my Lord Chancellor, and his first answer went through his Lordship to the King. In consequence of his refusal to serve under the Duke of Newcastle, his Grace thought it prudent, and for the King's service, to resign his employment, and my Lord Chancellor declared he would also lay down. All the world then expected that Pitt and Fox would have run into each other's arms, as it was thought that neither of them could form any strong and lasting Administration without the help of the other, and as Mr. Fox, when he declared his design to lay down, advised that the seals should be given to Pitt. But to his surprise, and that of all others, Pitt refused to admit him into any share of power. He seemed inclined to be Paymaster, but even that was denied. He is therefore gone out of all employment. Pitt will be Secretary of State as soon as the gout, of which he has

lately had a sharp fit, will give him leave to kiss the King's hand. Lord Temple is First Commissioner of the Admiralty, G. Grenville Treasurer of the Navy, the Duke of Devonshire First Commissioner of the Treasury, Legge Chancellor of the Exchequer. These are the Ministers. The rest of the Temple family are taken good care of, and Potter is joint Paymaster with my Lord Dupplin, whom they have been graciously pleased to continue in his office. Some other friends of the Duke of Newcastle stay in, even in considerable offices; and Fox has many friends advanced and promoted. If you ask who is first minister, I cannot inform you. I saw yesterday an intimate friend of Mr. Pitt's, who said he was; but the same day, an intimate friend of the Duke of Devonshire assured me, that title belonged to his Grace. Mr. Fox's friends think he is out of employment, but not out of power, or at least will not be so long; and the Duke of Newcastle has been more visited, and had greater professions of attachment made to him, than when at the head of the Treasury. Men of ordinary capacity think it very strange, that if Mr. Pitt was determined, from his own inclinations, or those of Leicester House, to set Mr. Fox and his friends at defiance, he did not unite to the Duke of Newcastle, and keep together that strength by which alone such a faction could be kept down for any long time; but great genius is not conducted by the rules of common prudence. Fox, too, seems to have erred in not better knowing what would be the consequence of his own act; but he is now very skilfully availing himself of his adversary's 1756.

1756. errors. In the meanwhile, you may judge what has been and what is still the state of the publick. For a month past there has not been even the form and appearance of an Administration. How much more there is now than appearance and form, is matter of doubt; but it seems to be clear, that if it not much strengthened it will not hold long. For my own part, I wish it may, as such frequent changes in times of such danger are hurtful to the publick, and may be fatal. One great difficulty in the new Ministry, will be how to lay, or how to direct the storm they have raised. Enquiries are promised. The nation demands them; but the conduct of those in Parliament is no easy matter. In the addresses for enquiries, a Jacobite spirit has mixed itself very strongly with the discontent infused or encouraged by the late opposition. How is that spirit to be satisfied or suppressed? A new Parliament is demanded—a Parliament chose without any corruption; a law for triennial Parliaments, and other such propositions. Mr. Pitt is said to have promised these things, particularly the first. The foreign troops are to be also sent away, and eight thousand men to be sent to America. What will remain for the defence of the kingdom? The Militia Bill is to pass; but will the bill be an army? Will it supply the void of these regular troops before a man is disciplined by it, or even raised? Another declaration is, that we are to pay no subsidies to any foreign Prince. What will become of the King of Prussia next year? What will become of Hanover? I only sketch out these things, because I don't know into

what hands my letter may fall. Many particulars I could wish to inform you of, but it would not be proper. I shall therefore add no more than what relates to myself. My good friends were pleased to say they would *annihilate* me; but my *annihilation* is a Peerage* given me by the King, with the most gracious expressions of favour, esteem, and approbation of my services, that my heart could desire. I have also the satisfaction to find, by many sure marks, that I go out of employment with as good a reputation, and even a better, than I came in. No publick misfortunes are imputed to me. My conduct in my late office is generally approved of, and all those whose esteem I value the most, have taken this occasion to declare it, in terms very honourable to me, and beyond my deserts. In short, I am as happy in this revolution, as my concern for my country, and some domestic uneasinesses, will allow me to be. I wish you may gain by it. The Dean says, he hears it is likely you will. Nothing could give me more satisfaction. Lord Hallifax (who, by the bye, is not of the present Ministry, but better than ever with the Duke of Newcastle), gives you great praise for your conduct in your Government. He mentioned to me a circumstance which does you great honour, and which I had not heard from yourself,—your having refused a present offered you by the Assembly, and which had been usually taken by your predecessors—*macte tuâ virtute.* I shewed 1756.

* Pitt, who had sat for Aldeborough in Yorkshire, a Pelham Borough, was now returned for Oakhampton, so long represented, and now vacated by Lyttelton. See above, p. 64.

1756. him your last letter, in which you say you shall want more presents for the Indians. He said he would give it the proper attention; and in my present situation I must leave it to his Lordship. Upon looking over my accounts, I find a year's annuity due to your Excellency out of my estate, at Michaelmas last, half a year at 2*s*, and half a year at 4*s* in the pound, amounting together to £277. 10*s*, which I desire to borrow of you for Hagley House, at 4 per cent. from the time it was due, and the next year in the same manner. I would also beg you to let me have your salary here on the same terms; but Sir Richard tells me you have engaged to pay him with that the £1400. for which I was bound.

"I wrote to you lately by a young man who promised to deliver my letter safe into your hands, if he got to South Carolina without meeting the French, but to throw it into the sea, if his ship was taken. This goes by Mr. Shubrick's care in the usual manner. I have sent you the best of the political pamphlets that have been writt since you left us, and with them the King of Prussia's vindication of his conduct. I wish His Majesty could as easily insure success to his cause, as he has proved the justice of it, and the bad faith of his enemies. But those enemies are so strong, that if they remain united, and jointly attack him next spring, one can hardly conceive how he can find strength to resist them. The Gazettes, which I suppose are sent over to you, will have informed you of his victory on the frontiers of Bohemia, and extraordinary operations in Saxony; but though he has done ably, and justly,

and gained much glory in his valour and conduct, his army was detained so long in besieging the Saxon camp, that he has failed of establishing himself in Bohemia, as he hoped to have done, before the winter came on; and all his difficulties will increase by every delay. Surprising things may be done by such a Prince at the head of such troops; and perhaps the Czarina may be shewn how dishonourably she has been imposed upon by the Courts of Vienna and Dresden, and may be brought to resent it; by which means the most dangerous part of the storm which threatens the King of Prussia may be diverted. Adieu, my dear Governor. Heaven bless and protect you, and the good people under your care. I wish this country had a prospect of being as well governed as South Carolina. But you will say, *perhaps those damned French may come and take away my Government from me.* I answer, perhaps they may take this country too, if we don't soon see an end of our factions. Nevertheless, I will trust in God, and in the genius of England, that never yet has crouched under that of France. In all chances and changes, 1756.

"I am ever

"your most affectionate

"Brother, Friend, and Servant,

"LYTTELTON."

"Hill Street, Dec. 9th, 1756.

"Since I wrote the foregoing letter, some things have happened that are well worth the mentioning to you. The King's speech, as you will see, men-

1756. tions the determination of sending away the Hanover forces. A clause is inserted in the address of the Lords, thanking the King for having brought them over pursuant to the advice of both Houses. This was thought a proper return of gratitude and acknowledgment on the part of the House, and necessary to vindicate His Majesty's honour, which had been aspersed in many infamous libels, and even some addresses, as if he had brought them over of his own accord, without the desire or consent of the Parliament. But in the address of the House of Commons, this clause of thanks was not inserted; and to the great surprise of the Lords, as soon as the motion for the address was made in their House, and had been seconded, and thirded, up got Lord Temple, and with great vehemence opposed that clause. He said, (as was true,) that he was but just recovering of a fever, and had scarce strength to say a few words to their Lordships; but he must say them, in order to express his dissent to that clause: that he desired union as much as any man in the kingdom, but that clause was not calculated to produce union. That he had opposed the bringing over the Hanoverians last year, and therefore he could not thank the King for it now. But (what was of much more importance) a great majority of the nation had disapproved of their coming, and therefore this would prevent unanimity in the nation, which was of much more consequence than unanimity in that House. That he would sooner have cut off his hand, than have put any words into the address to blame the bringing them over, be-

cause he did not desire, or think it expedient, to revive 1756.
that question now; but why an approbation of it should be put in, he could not conceive. He hinted, too, at its being omitted in the address of the Commons; and concluded with saying, that he would not be satisfied without entering his protest against it in the manner he had done; and then immedately walked out of the House.

"The Duke of Bedford, taking no notice of his being gone out, replied with great strength, that whatever respect might be due to that Lord, the House was to consider what was their own Act, and what, thereupon, it became them to do; that his Lordship's consent, and every single Lord's, was included in the address for bringing over those troops, which the House had agreed to; that as the King had been graciously pleased to comply with the desire and advice of the House, they certainly ought to return him their thanks for that condescension, which was always esteemed a favour and grace, whatever reasons there might be at present for sending them back; and that no Lord had any right to complain of their doing what was so highly their duty, because he had differed from them in his personal capacity, and while the question was yet in debate. Lord Stanhope said a few words in support of Lord Temple, and then the debate ended without any division. You may imagine the observations and discourse of the world upon this event. In all the journals of Parliament, there never was any instance of a Cabinet counsellor having opposed any part of the address in return to the King's speech at the opening

1756. of a session, unless he was understood to be just going out. Lord Temple is just come in, and people naturally ask one another, did he not see the address which always is settled at the Cabinet Council? why did he not then oppose this clause? Or, if he did, how came it about that his opposition had no effect? And why did he not choose to keep his own secret, rather than tell the House of Lords, that he had no credit in the administration? What surprised every body still more, was, that in the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt had declared the same day, that the bringing the Hanoverians into England, *was not a Court measure, but the measure of Parliament.* I am now informed that Lord Temple, being ill of a fever, was not at the Cabinet Council the day that these words were inserted; that having notice of it in the evening, he wrote to the Duke of Devonshire, to desire his Grace that they might be left out. That his Grace did not comply, though he likewise was talked to by Mr. Pitt, upon which my Lord Temple resolved to take the part that he did in the House, but whether with, or without Mr. Pitt's approbation, I cannot learn. This morning there was a talk of a motion in the House of Commons to re-commit the address, and add a clause to the same purpose as that in the address of the Lords. But Mr. Pitt, who had not yet received the seals, declared he would not take them if that was done; upon which it was stopped. You see, my dear Billy, what a blessed union there is among these great men! It is a new married couple who fall out, and fight on their wedding day. In the House of Com-

mons, Pitt's speech was moderate and discreet. He would blame nobody before an inquiry was made, nor even till it was ended. He owned the loss of the Hanoverians would make a dangerous gap in our force at home; but that gap must be supplied. He owned we had no ships to spare, and that the French fleet was very dangerously strong. He poured cold water on the head of Alderman Beckford, who had vaunted in his usual style on the grand strength of England, &c.; in short, he spoke like a minister, and unsaid almost all he had said in opposition. Beckford praised Fox and him; and assured him, in the name of all the Tories, but without any authority from them, of his, and their most cordial support. He grossly abused the Duke of Newcastle, who was defended with a great deal of spirit by the Marquis of Granby, and by Sir Thomas Robinson. Lord G. Sackville said, when he knew how Mr. Pitt would fill up the gap which would be made by the Hanoverians being sent back, *effectually* and *immediately*, he would say what he thought of the sending them back at this juncture of time. These were the principal events of the day. The King's speech was drawn by Mr. Pitt. It is in an high style *ad Populum*, and seems to promise great things. But there is certainly enough of *Germany* in it, and it by no means agrees with the publick declarations made by Lord Temple of no *foreign subsidies*, much less with the language talkt the last year. Adieu, my dear brother, I have writt till I am quite tired. 1756.

"I have just seen a letter from your excellency to

1756. *Mr. Pickering*, dated the 7th of September, which gives me the pleasure of knowing that you were well, and under no apprehensions except from the Creoles. But I wish the greater danger may not be from the French Regulars at the Mississippi. *The loss* of Oswego is so fatal a misfortune, that I fear the effects of it may extend even to you, if, in consequence of it, the Six Nations should waver in their alliance with us, which would make it impossible for Lord Loudon to succour our more southern provinces, if they should be attacked. If your new fort is finished, it will be a good barrier to the Province that way, but I doubt whether it can in so short a time; and if you are attacked, I supppose it will be before that is completed. I shall be glad to hear you got safe through the month of October, for then I presume there will be no danger till the next spring.

Our affairs at Bewdley (I should rather say *yours*, for if I keep the Borough it will be for you) stand much as they did, only that old Tom Moysey is dead. He has left a debt to the Government for licences, not accounted for, of above £200., which I am to pay as being one of his sureties, and the other being insolvent. His effects, altogether, are not worth above £20. Sir Richard was offered the White Stick as controller, (a very honourable office,) but being forced to decline it, because it required a man that can *walk*, he has now, after some difficulties, got the Jewel Office; Lord Breadalbin having taken Lord Sands's place, who is made speaker of the House of Lords, it being his destiny to be a speaker. Charles

Townsend has also accepted the office of Treasurer of 1756.
the Chambers, in the room of Lord Hillsborough, who is made an English Peer. He does not appear to be satisfied with it, as it is not an office of business, or power; nor did he think it worth having at the price of a contested election at Yarmouth, but he is to be brought in at another place.

"The public papers will give you all the other promotions, or the Dean, who is a good supplement to their defects. Mr. Pitt is again laid up with the gout. Mr. Fox is gone out of town, and says he does not intend to return these six weeks, though the adjournment is but for a week.

"This declaration is pretty extraordinary, as indeed are all the events of this time.

"Adieu, my dear Governor, you shall hear from me again as soon as they ripen into any decision.

"I can't help adding that the Duke of Newcastle has acted with great dignity, prudence, and moderation in this revolution."

CHAPTER XIII.

LITERARY HISTORY, 1756, TO THE DEATH OF LYTTELTON, 1773.

[Hagley MSS.—Campbell's Notices of the Wartons and Gray in Specimens of British Poetry—Walpole's Letters to Sir H. Mann, vols. ii. and iii. first series, vol. i. concluding series—Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, vol. i. p. 213, &c.—Schlosser's Geschichte, vol. iii. Literatur und Bildung Englands.—Wool's Life of Warton—Davies' Life of Garrick, vol. i.—Boswell's Life of Johnson, vols. i. and ii.—Chalmers' Life of Mickle—Forbes' Life of Beattie.]

1756-73. It was in the year 1755 that Bower had good reason to congratulate himself on having acquired the friendship of one who had deserved the name of "Lyttelton, the friend." About this period, Bower printed his "Motives of Conversion from Popery to Protestantism;" the work was criticised by Dr. Douglas, in a publication* which was generally† considered to contain a complete detection of

* See page 334.

† "Here Douglas retires from his toils to relax,
The scourge of impostors, the terror of quacks:
Come all ye quack bards, and ye quacking divines,
Come and dance on the spot where your tyrant reclines,
When satire and censure encircled his throne,
I feared for your safety, I feared for my own:"
"But now he is gone, and we want a detector."

Goldsmith's Retaliation.

Bower as an impostor. Among other persons, Gar- 1756-73.
rick openly discussed this question in society. Bower stood his ground, however, and in a summary of his case appended to one of the volumes of his History of the Popes, severely attacked both Garrick and one of his friends. Garrick determined on taking his revenge in his own line by bringing the character of Bower upon the stage, in the character of *the mock convert*. Being however on intimate terms with Lyttelton, whose protection of the intended victim was well known to him, he announced to this common friend his intention. Lyttelton wrote so strong a dissuasive, that Garrick, though reluctantly, forewent his revenge.

Lyttelton seems fully to have shared the admiration of his contemporaries, for this wonderful actor,* who

* Lyttelton and Pitt became first acquainted with him in 1743. One of the happiest efforts of the licentious and gifted Churchill, is his description of Garrick in the Rosciad.

" The judges as the several parties came,
With temper heard, with judgment weighed each claim,
And in their sentence happily agreed,
In name of both great Shakespeare thus decreed—
'If manly sense, if nature linked with art,
If thorough knowledge of the human heart,
If powers of acting, vast and unconfin'd,
If fewest faults with greatest beauties join'd,
If strong expression and strange powers which lie
Within the magic circle of the eye,
If feelings which few hearts like his can know,
And which as few so well as his can shew
Deserve the preference—Garrick ! take the chair,
Nor quit it till thou place an equal there !' "

1756-73. was occasionally a guest at Hagley, and whose house was a favourite resort (his biographer tells us), "of the learned, the elegant, the polite, and the accomplished in all arts and sciences"—"so, (he adds), that he was continually drawing from the great fountains of wisdom and knowledge—from Warburton and Hurd, from Camden and Mansfield, from the Earl of Chesterfield and George Lord Lyttelton, from Dr. S. Johnson and Edmund Burke, from Sir J. Reynolds and Sir W. Chambers, from Dr. Warton and his brother, from Mr. Berenger and Topham Beauclerc, from Mr. Paul and Mr. William Whitehead, from Mr. Cambridge and Mr. Colman, from Dr. Douglas and the Dean of Carlisle, from Dr. Robertson and Mr. Wedderburne, and from all that was eminent for their worth or distinguished by their genius." To this list might be added the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Chatham.

The only letter from Garrick in the Hagley MSS. is the following :—

"London, October 15th.

"MY VERY DEAR LORD,

"THE letter I had the honour of receiving from you yesterday, gave me at once the most exquisite pleasure and the most disagreeable sensations. It is my utmost pride and ambition to deserve the kind thoughts of the great and good, and my wishes are completely fulfilled in your letter. Your affectionate declaration to me is felt in my heart of

heart, as Shakespear feelingly calls it, and I flatter 1756 73.
myself, though you will find greater qualities in your other friends, you will never experience more sincerity, warmth, and true attachment than in your humble servant.

" Since I revell'd in delight upon the hills at Hagley, I have had a drawback with some attacks of my old disorder to make me sensible of my mortal condition, I am now, as I may say, well again, and I have put my philosophy to the trial—I drink no wine, eat but one thing, and don't so much as smell at supper. This regulation with a spoonfull of Castor oyl every night and a moderate use of honey and barley-water, will I am persuaded, make me whole again. I have produced no less than two or three small stones* with very little pain for many days. The Faculty have given me spirits by assuring me that I shall get rid of small ones. To any heart but your own, my Lord, all this would be impertinence, but I know something of character and I am assur'd that you wish to hear all about me. May Lord Valentia† prosper in Ireland; I most devoutly wish it, because I sincerely believe that his Lordship's cause is a just one; exclusive of that, whatever gives Lord Lyttelton pain or pleasure will and shall glance upon me, and I glory to have my share of both.

" That your Lordship has any object for the exercise

* He died in 1779 of this painful disorder.

† He married Lyttelton's daughter Lucy.

1756-73. of your resignation and patience, most truly affects me. If you had not these stops in the course of your life, your change from this world to a better would not have sufficient contrast—to enjoy a good share of health, the good wishes of all good men, and be the praise of all parties, with a circle of friends whose taste, knowledge, and genius, can enjoy yours—these are blessings few can boast of, and I hope I may morally pray God, that you may long enjoy them, and survive all the objects of your patience and resignation. Mrs. Vesey is a most agreeable woman, Mrs. Montagu is *herself alone.* Were they eighteen, and I an Adonis of twenty-one, I should love one and adore the other—I would kiss the hands of the Sylph, but fall at the feet of the Minerva. Such are my feelings about them, and if your Lordship can work up a little jealousy out of this declaration, I beg you will make the best of it. You deserve a small portion of mischief at my hands, for raising the vanity of Pid-pad to such a height, that all my assum'd dignity cannot lower her. I must not scold, and find fault, but she throws your Lordship at my head; and in short, for I begin to grow angry, if you and Pid-pad grow as fashionable as other folks, I must have satisfaction, and to have the most full and complete satisfaction, I shall desire your Lordship to meet me in Hagley Park.

"Most devotedly your Lordship's

"D. GARRICK.

"Pid-pad sends her love."

Among the MSS. I find in Lyttelton's handwriting the following verses:—"Pid-pad"* is probably the enchantress of the second stanza:— 1756-73.

"Garrick, behold the Fairy King,
To you my choicest gifts I bring,
To you whose power surpasses mine,
This wand, (my sceptre) I resign.
You can all forms assume with ease,
Secure in every form to please,
I can the elements controul,
But you command the human soul.

Yet one there is whose gentle sway,
Ev'n you with all your spells obey,
Whose magic binds in pleasing chains
Your heart, and there triumphant reigns;
To whom each sister Grace imparts,
Her sweetest charms, her finest arts!
Oft may she tread this hallowed green,
And she shall be the Fairy Queen."

The house of Garrick had in fact succeeded to the villa of Pope. Here—in the drawing-rooms of Mrs. Vesey—sometimes of Mrs. Thrale—and often, at a later period, of Mrs. Montague, Lyttelton frequented that kind of society which subsisted on literary gossip; and which, except when Johnson sat enthroned, was too often a poor imitation of French manners, as the works of the day were, with some very considerable exceptions, feeble copies of that French style, thought, and expression, which the writings of Bolingbroke and Voltaire had made generally fashionable.

In the enumeration of places to which Lyttelton

* Mrs. Garrick had been a celebrated dancer.

1756-73. dedicated his social hours, the Palace at Lambeth must not be forgotten. Here probably he found the society most congenial to his disposition; and to the curious and excellent library which it contains he appears to have had frequent recourse during the composition of his History. The learned and excellent Secker succeeded Shelton in the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1758, and Lambeth seems to have been open to all men of letters and fair character. It was much frequented, as was Montague House, both by Lord Bath and Lyttelton. Here it was that he became acquainted with Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, the translatress of Epictetus, a lady who united a sincere piety to accomplishments of no mean order. A charitable occasion first brought Lyttelton into communication with her. In 1755 she wrote to him, whom she did not then know, on behalf of the children of a poor woman. He immediately sent her twenty pounds; and again, in 1756, desired her, if her wants should be pressing, to draw upon him for a specified sum of money, while he exerted himself to procure for her a pension at the Treasury. Nobody appears to have better appreciated Lyttelton's character, or more sincerely lamented his death, than Mrs. Carter.* I should mention here that it does not appear that Lyttelton was ever enrolled among the members of that celebrated society which existed for some time without name, but which at Mr. Garrick's funeral, became distinguished by the title of the Literary Club.

* She died herself in 1806, having been born in 1717.

One of Lyttelton's first acts on the acquisition of his peerage was to offer the elder Warton (Joseph) his Chaplainship. "I shall think it an honour to my scarf if you will wear it," he writes. The offer was gladly accepted. With both the Wartons (Joseph and Thomas) Lyttelton seems to have lived in habits of great intimacy. Our literature is considerably indebted to these brothers, who were perhaps the most finished scholars of the time. 1756-73.

About this time Lyttelton published his Dialogues of the Dead. They were reprinted in 1765, when four new dialogues were added, the "chief design of which was," as he tells us in the preface,* "the illustrating of certain *principles* and certain *characters* of importance, by bringing in persons who have acted upon different systems to defend their own conduct, or to explain their own notions by free discourse with each other, and in manner conformable to the turn of their minds, as they have been represented to us by the best authors." These Dialogues, of which three were "by a different hand,"† were written in avowed imitation of Lucian, Fenelon, and Fontenelle. In truth, like the Persian Letters, they were framed, according to the fashion of the day, on an entirely French model. Some of them are ingenious and amusing, as well as instructive. The style is always clear, and sometimes eloquent.

* See Preface to the edition of 1765.

† Dialogue 26, Cadmus and Hercules.—Dialogue 27, Mercury and a modern fine Lord.—Dialogue 28, Plutarch, Charon, and a modern Bookseller.

1756-73. Dr. Johnson's dislike of Lyttelton has been often mentioned, and it is visible in his criticism on this work.—"That man (he said) sat down to write a book to tell the world what the world had all his life been telling him." Must not this be the case with most books which are the fruit of reading, meditation, and experience of life?—and in what lies the intended sting of this remark? Horace Walpole writes the following characteristic criticism in a letter to Sir H. Mann:—"Along with the machine I have sent you some new books—Lord George's Trial, Lord Ferrers's, and the account of him—a fashionable thing called Tristram Shandy, and my Lord Lyttelton's new Dialogues of the Dead, or rather *Dead* Dialogues. * * * * For the other noble author, Lord Lyttelton, you will find his work paltry enough; the style a mixture of bombast, poetry, and vulgarisms—nothing new, except making people talk out of character is so. Then he loves changing sides so much that he makes Lord Falkland and Hampden cross over and figure in like people in a country dance—not to mention their guardian angels, who deserve to be hanged for murder. He is angry, too, at Swift, Lucian, and Rabelais, as if they had laughed at him of all men living, and he seems to wish that we would read the last's Dissertation on Hippocratis instead of his History of Portugal. But I blame him most when he was satirising too free writers for praising the King of Prussia's poetry, to which anything of Royle is harmless. I like best the Dialogue between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Angus, and the character of his own first wife under that of Penelope. I need not tell you that

Pericles is Mr. Pitt." The blame ascribed to Pericles by Cosmo, who admits his many virtues and abilities, is that of trusting solely to his personal influence, without acting upon, or preferring, any system of Government—like an architect, whose only care was that the building should last the term of the owner's life. 1756-73.

The Dialogues between Swift and Addison, Christina and Oxenstiern, Pope* and Boileau, which contain a good deal of criticism on English and French writers generally, will well repay perusal.

In the last dialogue is introduced a criticism on Voltaire: it conveyed some censure upon his writings, but which certainly did not err on the side of severity, nevertheless it irritated this philosoper (who was one of the many examples of the truth of Moliere's well-known satire upon Philosophers, in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme;*) and in 1761 he wrote to Lyttelton as follows.

LETTER OF MR. VOLTAIRE TO LORD LYTTELTON.

"I HAVE read the ingenious *Dialogues of the Dead*, I find (page 134) that I am an *exile*, and guilty

* Boileau reproaches Pope with having wasted his genius in editing Shakspeare. Pope replies:—

"The principal cause of my undertaking that task was zeal for the honour of Shakspeare: and if you knew all his beauties as well as I, you would not wonder at this zeal. No other author had ever so copious, so bold, so creative an imagination, with so perfect a knowledge of the passions, the humours and sentiments of mankind. He painted all characters, from kings down to peasants, with equal truth and equal force. If human nature were destroyed, and no monument were left of it except his work, other beings might know *what man was* from those writings."

1756-73. of some excesses in writing. I am obliged (and perhaps for the honour of my country) to say I am not an exile, because I have not committed the excesses the author of the Dialogues imputes to me.

"No body rais'd his voice higher than mine in favour of the rights of human kind; yet I have not exceeded in that virtue. I am not settled in Switzerland as he believes I live in my own lands in France. Retreat is becoming to old age, and more becoming in one's own possessions. If I enjoy a little country-house near Geneva, my mannors and my castles are in Burgundy; and if my King has been pleased to confirm the privileges of my lands, which are free from all tributes, I am the more addicted to my King.

"If I was an exile I had not obtained from my court many a passeport for English noblemen. The service I rendered to them intitles me to the justice I expect from the noble author.

As to Religion, I think, and I hope he thinks with me, that God is neither a Presbiterian, nor a Lutherian, nor of the lower Church, nor of the high church, but God is the father of all mankind, the father of the noble author and mine.

"I am with respect,

"His most humble servant,

"VOLTAIRE."

"Gentleman of the King's Chamber.

"At my Castle of Ferney in Burgundy."

Lyttelton's answer was as follows:—

"SIR, 1756-73.

"I HAVE receiv'd the honour of your letter dated from your Castle of Ferney in Burgundy, by which I find I was guilty of an error in calling your retirement an *exile*. When another edition shall be made of my Dialogues, either in English or French, I will take care that this error shall be corrected; and I am very sorry I was not apprised of it sooner, that I might have corrected it in the first edition of a French translation of them just published under my inspection in London.

"To *do you justice* is a duty I owe to truth, and myself; and you have a much better title to it, than from the *Passeports* you say you have procured for English noblemen; you are entitled to it, Sir, by the high sentiments of respect I have for you, which are not paid to the privileges you tell me your king has confirmed to your lands, but to the noble talents God has given you, and the superior rank you hold in the Republic of Letters. The favours done you by your Sovereign are an honour to him; but add little lustre to the name of Voltaire.

"I entirely agree with you that God is the Father of all mankind; and should think it blasphemy to confine his goodness to a sect, nor do I believe that any of his creatures are good in his sight, if they do not extend their benevolence to all his creation. These opinions I rejoice to see in your works, and shall be very glad to be convinced, that the liberty of your thoughts and your pen upon subjects of philosophy and religion never exceeded the bounds of this gene-

1756-73. rous principle, which is authorised by revelation as much as by reason; or that you disapproved in your hours of sober reflexion any irregular sallies of fancy, which cannot be justified, though they may be *excused* by the vivacity and fire of a great genius.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,
"Your most humble servant,
"LYTTELTON."

Soon afterwards came another letter from the same quarter:

"Au Chateau de Ferney, par Geneve,
"19 Juillet, 1761.

"MY LORD,

"MY esteem for you is so great, that j presume the name of Corneille shall be honour'd with your name. J dare sai such an attonement for the little displeasure you had caus'd to me, is a favour which j'll ressent great deal more than my little pain.

"Je suis avec bien du respect,
"My Lord,
"Votre tres humble et tres
"obeissant serviteur,
"VOLTAIRE."

The object of this unintelligible letter was to procure Lyttelton's name and subscription to an edition of Corneille, which Voltaire was preparing, and the profits of which were to be devoted to the benefit of that distinguished person's* great niece. Voltaire wrote to Pitt on the same day, begging to place his name at the head of the subscribers. Mr. Stanley,

* The work was published in 1764, in 12 volumes, 8vo.

writing to Pitt on the 26th of August, says, "I have received the enclosed letter from Voltaire, whom I never saw, on my subscribing to an edition of Corneille. You will judge whether I have got off as well as my Lord Lyttelton." 1756-73.

I may mention in this place that in the same year I find among the Hagley MSS. a document endorsed in Lyttelton's handwriting—

"Draft of my letter to the King of Prussia's Secretary, on his sending me the Book of Poems published by his Master."

It is written in good French, but contains only the compliments usual in such cases.

Horace Walpole writes to Sir H. Mann—

"Voltaire has been charmingly absurd. He who laughed at Congreve for despising the rank of author and affecting the gentleman, set out post for a hovel he has in France to write from thence and style himself *Gentleman of the Bedchamber*, to Lord Lyttelton, who in his Dialogues of the Dead, had called him an exile. He writes in English and not a sentence is tolerable English. The answer is very civil and sensible."

The following letter to Lyttelton from Mr. Phelps is on the same subject, and contains a curious account of Voltaire's character from an eye-witness.

"Blandford, 9th March, 1791.

"My Lord,

"Having been from quarters some few days on account of my health I had not an opportunity of seeing Mr. Voltaire's letter to your Lordship, and the

1756-73. answer till yesterday. The frequent opportunities I had of conversing with that great genius, during my last stay abroad, gave me a thorough insight into his character; and I remember it was not without that sensible pleasure with which I read all your Lordship's writings, that I observ'd with how much delicacy you treated him in your Dialogues of the Dead.

" I find that he is much hurt at the name of exile, and yet that voluntary banishment which he now chuses to call his retreat in Suisse, was always consider'd by the sensible people of that country as the effect of prudence rather than of choice.

" He had taken a house at Lausanne on a lease of nine years; he had paid the rent for the whole term in advance, and had expended a very large sum, in fitting it up according to his own taste and convenience. It was at this time, that I was first known to him, was with him frequently in his hours of gaiety, and those of a very different complexion. His favourite theme in all humours, was, Je ne sais pas Français, except when his vanity prompted him to read us the accounts which he regularly received of real or imaginary victories gained by his countrymen. He was upon these occasions as arrant a Frenchman as the most illiterate of his nation, and received the most glaring political absurdities upon trust. He was the most inconsistent, whenever he talked of the King of Prussia; and I remember when we first heard that the united Imperial and French army, was marching down to drive the King of Prussia out of Saxony, that I saw a billet which M. Voltaire wrote to a gentleman who

lived in the next street, exprest in these terms, " Ce 1756-73.
Monsieur de Brandenbourg qui a fait presenter quatre bayonettes au ventre de ma nièce en a quatre vingt milles en arrêt contre lui." This alluded to his niece being refused admittance to him, when he was under arrest at Francfort. Some few days after, we were informed of the French defeat at Rosbach. M. Voltaire's billet was much changed; " J'admire le Roy de Prusse, je plains les Français, et je me tais. He was as consistent too with respect to the English; sometimes we were Islanders fit for the element that surrounded us, without taste of life, or sense of manner; at other times, Monsieur, vous êtes Anglais, Grand Dieu! que je vondrais l'etre. He indeed did us the honour in his hours of dislike, to treat us with hatred rather than with contempt. Such was the Voltaire that I left in Suisse about three years ago, when I went into Italy, and such I found him upon my return last year, but the limits of his retreat were then much confined. He had during my stay in Italy, acted a very unhandsome part, with regard to some of the Clergy at Lausanne, and his behaviour had been resented, as it ought. The quitting his house in that place was the necessary consequence. He was therefore last year endeavouring to extend his limits on the side of Geneva, which however it is hardly possible for him to do, without touching upon the territories of his own King. He might then perhaps apply to his great patron the Duke of Richelieu, and might easily obtain the privileges he talks of, in those outskirts of France, however

1756-73. obnoxious he may have rendered himself at home. He had bought lands on that side, and was even building upon them, when I was in that country about last Easter. Their distance was not very great from his little country house near Geneva, and I am apt to suspect that these are the Manours and Castles of which he talks in his letter to your Lordship. Wherever these Manours and Castles are, they make but little difference as to M. Voltaire's letters, except that I think the ridicule would be a little heightened. * * I am in one respect pleas'd with M. Voltaire's letter, as it gives me his real portrait, and as much as I dislike national reflections, I cannot help saying, that I see too in it a strong characteristic of his country.

" The last four years which I pass'd abroad, have made me often wish, that we took a little more pains to conciliate people to us by our pens. The learned in all countries know how to do us justice, but I would not have it totally confined to them. The French insinuate themselves into the opinion of foreign nations, by keeping up a good correspondence, with almost all the writers employed in conveying intelligence. I think they carry it too far, but do not we, my Lord, neglect this article a little too much? I wish to see Voltaire's letter circulate wherever English and French are read, there is in it the true character of the author, and the genuine complexion of his country. I would fain flatter myself too, that whilst foreigners do justice to your Lordship, they will at the same time discover some strong *national* features in your Lordship's

noble reply. I have the honour to be with all possible respect, 1756-73.

" My Lord,
" Your Lordship's most obedient,
" and most humble servant,
" RICHARD PHELPS."

In 1757 appeared two poems, whose genius and lyrical fire, startled the feeble versifiers of the time. These were Gray's two odes, " The Progress of Poesy," and " The Bard." In vain did Johnson's monstrous criticism strive to destroy by clumsy ridicule, what it had no power to appreciate. They will never lose their place in English literature.* Horace Walpole's criticism on them is conveyed in the following letter to Lyttelton.

" Strawberry Hill, August 25, 1757.

" MY LORD,

" IT is a satisfaction one can't often receive, to show a thing of great merit to a man of great taste. Your Lordship's approbation is conclusive, and it stamps a disgrace on the age, who have not given themselves the trouble to see any beauties in these odes of Mr. Gray. They have cast their eyes over them, found them obscure, and looked no further, yet perhaps no composition ever had more sublime beauties than are in each. I agree with your Lordship in preferring the last upon the whole; the three first stanzas and half, down to *agonizing king*, are in my opinion, equal to anything in any language I understand. Yet

* See Mr. Campbell's admirable criticism in his Specimens of British Poets.

1756-73. the three last of the first ode please me very near as much. The description of Shakespeare, is worthy Shakespeare: the account of Milton's blindness, though perhaps not strictly defensible, is very majestic. The character of Dryden's Poetry, is as animated as what it paints. I can even like the epithet *Orient;* as the East is the Empire of fancy and poesy, I would allow its livery to be erected into a colour. I think *blue eyed Pleasures* as allowable; when Homer gave eyes of what hue he pleased to his Queen-Goddesses, sure Mr. Gray may tinge those of their handmaids.

" In answer to your Lordship's objection to *many twinkling,* in that beautiful Epode, I will quote authority to which you will yield. As Greek as the expression is, it struck Mrs. Garrick,* and she says on that whole picture, that Mr. Gray is the only Poet who ever understood dancing.†

" These faults I think I can defend, and can excuse others, even the general obscurity of the latter, for I do not see it in the first; the subject of it has been taken for music, it is the power and progress of harmonious poetry. I think his objection to prefixing a title to it was wrong—that Mr. Cooke published an ode with such a title. If the *Louis the great,* whom Voltaire has discovered in Hungary, had not disappeared

* Pid-Pad, see Garrick's letter above.

† The classical reader will remember the beautiful passage in the Odyssey.

ἀμφὶ δὲ κοῦροι
Πρωθῆβαι ἵσταντο, δαήμονες ὀρχηθμοῖο
Πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσὶν ἀυταρ Ὀδυσσεὺς·
Μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν, θάυμαζε δε θυμῷ.—Θ. 262—5.

from history of himself, would not Louis Quatorze have annihilated him? I was aware that the second would at first have darknesses, and prevailed for the insertion of what notes there are, and would have had more; Mr. Gray said, whatever wanted explanation, did not deserve it, but that sentence was never so far from being an axiom, as in the present case. Not to mention how he had shackled himself with Strophe, Antistrophe and Epode, (yet acquitting himself nobly), the nature of prophecy forbade his naming his Kings. To me they are apparent enough—yet I am far from thinking either piece perfect, though with what faults they have, I hold them in the first rank of genius and poetry. The second strophe of the first ode is inexcusable, nor do I wonder your Lordship blames it; even when one does understand it, perhaps the last line is too turgid. I am not fond of the Antistrophe that follows. In the second ode he made some corrections for the worse. *Brave* Urion was originally *stern: brave* is insipid and common-place. In the third Antistrophe, *leave me unblessed, unpitied*, stood at first, *leave your despairing Caradoc.* But the capital faults in my opinion are these—What punishment was it to Edward the First to hear that his grandson would conquer France? or is so common an event as Edward the Third being deserted on his death-bed, worthy of being made part of a curse that was to avenge a nation. I can't cast my eye here, without crying out on those beautiful lines that follow, *Fair smiles the morn!* Though the images are extremely complicated, what 1756-73.

1756-73. painting in the whirlwind, liken'd to a lion lying in ambush for his evening prey, *in grim repose!* Thirst and Hunger mocking Richard II., appear to me too ludicrously like the devils in the Tempest, that whisk away the banquet from the shipwrecked Dukes. From thence to the conclusion of Queen Elizabeth's portrait, which he has faithfully copied from Speed, in the passage where she mumbled the Polish Ambassador, I admire, I can even allow that Image of Rapture hovering like an ancient grotesque, though it strictly has little meaning, but there I take my leave; the last stanza has no beauties for me. I even think its obscurity fortunate, for the allusions to Spencer, Shakespeare, Milton are not only weak, but the two last returning again, after appearing so gloriously in the first ode, and with so much fainter colours, enervate the whole conclusion.

"Your Lordship sees that I am no enthusiast to Mr. Gray, his great lustre hath not dazzled me, as his obscurity seems to have blinded his cotemporaries. Indeed, I do not think that they ever admired him except in his churchyard, though the Eton ode was far its superior, and is certainly not obscure. The Eton ode is perfect: these of more masterly execution, have defects, yet not to admire them is total want of taste. I have an aversion to tame poetry, at best perhaps the art is the sublimest of the *difficiles nugæ;* —to measure or rhyme prose, is trifling without being difficult.

"I am sensible that encouraged by your Lordship's

criticism, I have indulged myself in it too much, and I would as willingly keep silence on the melancholy situation of our country, sunk—whither! but there is to me a private part of it, now become a public one, and one that should, and I will trust in God, may yet be reserved for the public in a happier light, on whom I cannot keep silence, dear Mr. Conway. Your Lordship asks my opinion—alas! my Lord, you have spoken my opinion—is France so invulnerable? Can we afford to risk our best officers, our best ships, our best soldiers? what if they perish! Is our danger so remote, that we must send for it, mark its route with our own best blood! I tremble as an Englishman, and more as a friend—what must poor Lady Ailesbury* do, who sees the most reasonable system of happiness, and the most perfect in every shape that ever existed, exposed to such imminent peril! My heart bleeds for her. Adieu! my Lord, this is a theme that cuts short all other reflections! My best compliments to my Lady and the Dean; I grieve for the ill health of the former. There is a question I must still ask; how does King Henry? I ask this as a reader, not as a printer; not as Elzevir Horace, as Mr. Conway calls me, but as 1756-73.

"Your Lordship's admirer,

"and obedient humble servant,

"HORACE WALPOLE."

* Whose second husband was General Conway, then employed with Sir John Mordaunt in the useless attack on Rochefort.

1756-73. About 1760, Lyttelton entered into correspondence with an unknown person, apparently endowed with considerable genius, and struggling with severe distress,—William Julius Mickle, the translator of the Lusiad, the author of Syr Martin, and of the popular and well known song, "There's nae luck about the House," and of the affecting ballad of Cumnor Hall, known to most English readers, since it became the basis of Walter Scott's Kenilworth. He had been brought up in a brewing establishment, at Edinburgh, but had early shewn an enthusiastic love for poetry. He submitted several of his early poems, and among them "Providence," to Lyttelton's supervision. Lyttelton seems to have treated him with the greatest kindness, both by letter, and in a personal interview, when having been surety for an insolvent friend, who became bankrupt, he came to London in 1764. He had previously written to Lyttelton, under the assumed name of William More, describing himself "as a young man friendless and unknown," begging to be allowed to dedicate to him a second edition of "Providence," and that an answer might be sent to him at a Coffee House in Holborn. Before the answer could arrive there, the utter derangement of his affairs had driven him from his home, and he had reached London in the greatest distress. While in this perplexity, he received a cheering letter from Lyttelton, warmly commending his genius, but containing several criticisms on his poems, urging him to acquire greater harmony of versification, to take care

that his diction did not *loiter into prose*, or become harsh by new phrases or words unauthorised by the usage of good authors. Mickle took in good part this and other criticisms, from which he always professed to have derived considerable advantage. When he thought of seeking his fortune in Jamaica, Lyttelton gave him a letter of recommendation to his brother, who was at that time governor of the island. He afterwards obtained the office of corrector of the Clarendon Press at Oxford; and in 1780, was appointed joint agent at Lisbon for certain valuable naval prizes. He realized a small sum of money, and died in 1788. 1756-73.

In July, 1759, Lyttelton received a letter from Lord Hardwicke, which, as it concerned chiefly political matters, will be found in the ensuing chapter; a portion of it, however, related to the progress of Lyttelton's great literary labour, to which he answered as follows:—

"I thank your Lordship for your obliging concern about my health. It is much better since I came into the country, and I hope will be quite re-established by the exercise and amusement of a tour I am going to make into North Wales. At my return from thence, I intend to resume the task of my history, encouraged very much by the favourable opinion your Lordship has of it; but I do not hope to complete it in less than two or three yeare. The *Collationis Mora et Tædium*, which Cicero says, deterred him from writing the history of his country, is what makes me so slow

1756-73. in finishing mine; for I know the critical spirit of my countrymen, who would not forgive an inaccuracy in a fact, or a date, if I could write with the eloquence of Cicero himself; and I am particularly unfortunate in the many subjects of controversy that occur during the period contained in my work: but if I can make it deserve your Lordship's approbation, I shall think no labour too great."

An account of the tour in North Wales, referred to in this letter, was written in two letters to Mr. Bower, and is published in the last volume of Lyttelton's works.

The history of Henry the Second had been the labour of the greater part of Lyttelton's life. Interrupted as that labour had been by his official and parliamentary avocations, it had never been wholly laid aside, though the expectation, which he mentioned in his letter to Pope,* in 1741, of finishing his work within two or three years, had been completely frustrated. Many of his letters, it has been seen, refer to this darling project, the ambition† of his early, and the religion‡ of his matured years, conspired to render this undertaking a labour of love to him. Lyttelton's regard to the critical accuracy of his countrymen, mentioned in the extract from his answer to Lord Hardwicke, induced him to make alterations in the press, which are said to have cost a thousand pounds; and also to adopt a precaution, which was extraordinary, and unhappily unavailing. A person

* See above, p. 184. † See Letter to Pope, p. 184.

‡ See Letters to Doddridge, chap. x.

of the name of Andrew Reid, persuaded Lyttelton 1756-73.
that he possessed the secret of correct punctuation, and was employed by him at a great price to point the pages of Henry the Second. Johnson scoffed at the idea, that "another man could point his sense better than himself." "It may be doubted, (observes Mr. Croker,*) whether Johnson's dislike of Lord Lyttelton did not here lead him into an error. Persons not so habituated with the details of printing as he was, may have been less expert at these conventional signs. Lord Byron wrote to Mr. Murray, 'Do you know any one that can *stop?* I mean *point, commas* and so forth, for I am, I fear, a sad hand at your punctuation."† Unfortunately, Reid died, and Saunders who took his place, appended to his edition a list of errors occupying nineteen pages.

Not many years before the publication of Lyttelton's work, Dr. Johnson‡ had observed, that it was a charge often brought against England, that though she had produced many authors eminent for almost every species of literary excellence, she had been hitherto remarkably barren of *historical* genius. The truth of this charge Johnson questions, instancing Raleigh, Clarendon, and most especially Knolles, the historian of the Turks. His estimate§ of the qualifications

* Croker's edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson.

† Moore's Life of Byron, vol. i. p. 417.

‡ In 1751. See 122nd Number of the Rambler.

§ Dryden, in his admirable preface to the translation of Plutarch, after enumerating several ancient and modern continental historians,

1756-73. requisite for an historian was extremely low, confining them, it should seem, to industry in searching traditionary records, clearness of narrative, (which however he admits to be a rare and difficult attainment,) and skilfulness of arrangement. The application of philosophy to this department of human knowledge finds no place in his catalogue, though it is difficult to conceive such an omission by one acquainted with the writings of Thucydides, Tacitus, and of Clarendon. At the time, however, when Johnson thus wrote, the works of our illustrious countrymen who clothed history with a different character—Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon,*—had not appeared. Since the Revolution, the demand

says, "I am sorry that I cannot find in our own nation, though it has produced some commendable historians, any proper to be ranked with these. Buchanan, indeed, for the purity of his Latin, and for his learning, and for all other endowments belonging to a historian, might be placed amongst the greatest if he had not too much leaned to prejudice," &c. But greatly did Dryden differ from Johnson in his estimate of history and historians. According to the former, "History is an argument formed from many particular examples or deductions;" again, "All history is only the precepts of moral philosophy reduced into examples, &c.

* Gibbon however was present, and silent, when Johnson said, "We must consider how very little history there is; I mean real authenticated history; that certain kings reigned, that certain battles were fought we can defend as true; but all the colouring, all the philosophy of history is conjecture."—Boswell's Johnson, vol. ii. p. 318, 8vo. edition. Again, "Great abilities are not requisite for an historian; for in historical compositions all the greatest powers of the human mind are quiescent." See, too, the Essay in the Rambler cited above.

for national annals produced the compilations of Bishop Kennet, Rapin, and the great labours of Carte. In 1754, Hume published his reigns of James and Charles the First. His second volume appeared in 1757, his third and fourth in 1759, and his two last in 1762. The ill reception of the first volumes being forgotten in the blaze of success which covered the later publications. In 1759, Robertson gave to the world his History of Scotland; and in the preceding year, Smollett had published, in four quarto volumes, that history of England which was destined to show how dull and bad a history might flow from the pen of a very clever novelist. It was in this state of historical writing, that Lyttelton, who had begun to print in 1755, produced three volumes in 1764; a second edition of them afterwards in 1767, a third edition in 1768, and the conclusion in 1771. The work was entitled, "The History of the Life of Henry the Second, and of the age in which he lived, in five books; to which is prefixed, a History of the Revolutions of England, from the death of Edward the Confessor, to the birth of Henry the Second." It was most favourably received at the time of its publication. In our day, the number of its volumes, and the remote period of which it treats, deter the mere general reader of history from its perusal; but the vast extent, and careful accuracy of the information which it contains, have secured to its writer a lasting place among the historians of his country. I observe, that there is no author to whom Mr. Hallam, in the 1756-73.

1756-73. chapter on the "Constitution of England," in the "History of Europe during the Middle Ages," refers more frequently, or apparently with greater confidence. Lyttelton's own opinion of his work may be seen in the following letter to Dr. Wharton.*

"Hagley, Aug. 15th, 1767.

"DEAR SIR,

"As you know how much I value your approbation as a critic, I need not tell you that your letters give me great pleasure. It particularly pleases me that you distinguish that part I laboured most—the account of laws, manners, arts, learning, &c. during the times of which I write. I could have made it more amusing if I would have treated it more superficially; but if the historic muse will search for truth among the ruins and cells of Gothic antiquity, some dust and cobwebs will stick to her, and she will not look so fine as if she had been only gathering flowers or straining cream. The most entertaining period of my history is still to come, viz.—that which contains Earl Strongbow's achievements in Ireland—the conquest of the island by King Henry the Second, or (to speak more accurately) the submission of it to him—the revolt of his wife and children—his victory over the rebels—the King of Scotland's captivity, and the subjection of his kingdom to the sovereignty of England in consequence of that event—the relapse of

* Wool's Life. Letter 72.

Henry's eldest son into another rebellion, and his death-bed repentance—the loss of the Holy Land, and the Crusade for the recovery of it against the great Saladin—and lastly, the new treasons of Henry's children against him, which caused his death.* 1756-73.

"These bright parts of my subject, which will be comprehended in the last volume, admit of more eloquence, and a higher dignity of style than any of the foregoing; and if God grants me health and leisure, I hope I shall finish that volume to your satisfaction in about a twelvemonth from this time. The greatest delay will be from what I have yet to write concerning the Courts of Justice and the Criminal Law of that age at the end of my Fourth Book. The investigation of these matters is tedious and difficult, but I must go through it or leave the work incomplete. The favourable judgment you pass on what is already published will not a little animate me to proceed in my task.

"I hope your brother is well, and shall be proud if his suffrage agrees with yours; for he too is a critic

* Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, vol. v. p. 67.—sails to Ireland, p. 82—his exploits there, pp. 86, 87, 89, 93, 94, 99, 100, 101, 103, 242, 243, 341, 342—his death, vol. vi. p. 30. The revolt of Eleanor and his children, vol. v. p. 136—defeat of the rebels, pp. 161. Captivity of the King of Scotland, p. 191—homage done for Scotland, pp. 234, 235. Relapse of Henry's eldest son into rebellion, vol. vi. p. 172—his death, pp. 180, 181. Great council for the relief of the Holy Land, p. 214. New treasons of Richard, p. 333—of John, p. 345. Henry II.'s death, pp. 346, 377.—8vo. edition.

1756-73. of whose approbation I am very ambitious, either for my verse or prose. But I give notice to you both, that you will find some inaccuracies, not only of the press, but the style in the first edition, corrected in the second, which I hope will soon come out. I am, with great truth and esteem, Dear Sir,

" Your most obed. humble servant,

" LYTTELTON."

Horace Walpole, to whom Lyttelton appears to have lent a printed volume of his history, but before its publication, wrote as follows:—

" Strawberry Hill, June 20th, 1758.

" MY LORD,

" I WAS unluckily at Park-place when your Lordship sent to my house in town; and I more unluckily still left Park-place the very day your Lordship was expected there. I twice waited on you in Hill Street, to thank you for the great favour of lending me your History, which I am sorry I kept longer than you intended; but you must not wonder. I read it with as great attention as pleasure: it is not a book to skim, but to learn by heart, if one means to learn anything of England—you call it the history of Henry 2nd. It is literally the History of our Constitution, and will last much longer than I fear the latter will; for, alas! my Lord, your style, which will fix and preserve our language, cannot do what language cannot do, reform the nature of man. I beg to know whither I shall send this book, too valuable

to be left in a careless manner with a servant. I repeat my warmest thanks, and am, my Lord, 1756-73.

"Your Lordship's much obliged, and
"most obedient humble servant,
"HOR. WALPOLE."

I find also among the Hagley MSS. a card with the following inscription:—

"Lord Chesterfield sends his compliments to Lord Lyttelton, with many thanks for the pleasure that his History gave him, and begs of him to finish immediately his third volume, which he hungers after, the two former volumes having disgusted him of most other historys."

Bishop Warburton wrote as follows:—

"Prior Park, Jan. 22, 1768.

"MY LORD,

"I HAVE this morning been honoured with your Lordship's favour of the 20th, accompanied with the notice of a still greater—a copy of your noble work—a morsel, at last, of Ancient English History, full both of sublime entertainment and sage instruction, after the famine of an age in our historic world; for so long, I think, it is since Lord Chancellor Hyde wrote. What hath been since given us to stay our stomachs hath been so much after this island-dressing, that our polite neighbours (even in their highest encomiums on English Literature) have given up the

1756-73. district of History, as a soil lying yet waste and uncultivated. Yet our history is read; for History must be read, for, as Pliny the younger says, 'Historia quoquo modo scripta delectat homines, naturâ curiosi, nuda rerum cognitione capiuntur.' How much, then, is the world indebted to historians like your Lordship, who not content to gratify their *curiosity* with *naked facts*, store the mind with that useful wisdom to be collected only from an investigation of humanity, which detects all the hidden causes of our actions.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obliged and
"Obedient humble servant,
"W. GLOUCESTER."

In the course of the dialogue between George the Third and Dr. Johnson, recorded by Boswell, his Majesty "asked him what he thought of Lord Lyttelton's History which had been just published.—Johnson said, he thought his style pretty good, but that he had blamed Henry the Second rather too much.—Why, said the King, they seldom do these things by halves.—No, Sir, answered Johnson, not to Kings." And on another occasion, when Boswell remarked that "Toryism prevailed in this reign," Johnson answered, "I know not why you should think so, Sir. You see your friend, Lord Lyttelton, a nobleman, is obliged in his history to write the most vulgar Whiggism." A very opposite opinion of the treatment Henry the Second met with from Lyttelton

was formed by a contemporary, who had the reputation of a scholar, and ranked among the literary persons of his day. Mr. Godwyn, a Fellow of Baliol College, writing in August 1767, to a correspondent from that place, says,—"Lord Lyttelton's history is generally read, and highly esteemed, by the lawyers. It contains a great deal of law antiquity, the antient constitution of the kingdom upon which much of our present law is founded. The composition is good, and the facts related with a great deal of good sense; but yet, three large volumes in quarto, with a fourth which is to be added some time hence, will be likely to tire the reader. I think, too, that the author says too much in praise of his hero—Henry the Second—speaking of his amour with Rosamond, he calls it 'the amiable extravagance of a good heart.'"* 1756-73.

Lyttleton's acquaintance with Burke has been already noticed; it probably began soon after the publication of the Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, in 1757. I should not omit to mention that Hume, in his correspondence with Adam Smith, cites more than once Lyttelton's authority as an historian. Among the literary MSS. before me is a correspondence with Lord Monboddo,† but as it turns almost entirely upon a dispute as to whether an Ourang-Outang be a man in his most degraded state, or the connecting link between man and animal, and as this question may

* See Nicholls' Literary Anecdotes, vol. viii. p. 238, 248.

† His Essay on the Origin and Progress of Language appeared in 1772.

1756-73. be said to have fairly survived any interest it ever excited, I forbear to insert the letters. In the year 1767, Lyttelton introduced himself to Lardner,* the author of the well known work on the Credibility of Gospel History, for the sake of thanking him for the pleasure he had derived from its perusal. Lardner being quite deaf, Lyttelton carried on his conversation with him on paper, during the course of which he maintained his firm belief in Bower's innocence, but complained of Bower's having cited inaccurately his account of Becket.† His last literary acquaintance was with Beattie, who is now more deservedly esteemed for his "Minstrel"‡ than for the Essay on Truth,§ which procured him more popularity at the time, though it was soon seen that even the advantage of a better cause made him no match for Hume against whom his Essay was directed. In a letter which Lyttelton wrote to Beattie,‖ after bestowing very high praise on his Essay, he said:—

"It has often given me great pain to see Bishop Berkeley, a most pious and learned man, overturn the main foundations of all religion and all knowledge, by the most extravagant scepticism concerning the real existence of matter in some of his writings; and then

* Born 1684, died 1768.

† Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 60, part 1, p. 194.

‡ First part appeared in 1771; second, in 1774

§ His Essay on the Immutability of Truth in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism, appeared in 1770.

‖ Lord Lyttelton to Dr. Beattie; Letter 39, Forbes' Life of Beattie.

fancy, that in others he could, by any force of argu- 1756-73.
ment, establish the evidences of Christianity, which are a perpetual appeal to the truth of our senses, and grounded on a supposition, that they cannot deceive us in those things which are the proper and natural objects of them, within their due limits. Can one wonder that the sceptics should lay hold of the former in answer to the latter? And can any more useful service be done to Christianity, than to shew the fallacy of such whimsies as would make the body of Christ, which his disciples saw and felt, no body at all? and the proof of his resurrection, from that testimony of their senses, a mere delusive idea?

"Berkeley certainly was not sensible of the consequences of these doctrines, no more than Locke of those you reprehend in his Essay; but whatever respect may be due to the persons of authors, their writings must be censured, when they deserve censure, and especially on such subjects. This the friends of Mr. Hume have no more right to complain of than those of Berkeley or Locke. Nor can the censure of systems, which attempt to shake the great pillars both of natural and revealed religion, be delivered by a believer in terms as cool as if only a speculation on the nature of electricity or the causes of an aurora borealis were in question. Mr. Hume, as a man, from his probity, candour, and the humanity of his manners, deserves esteem and respect; but the more authority he draws from his personal character, or from the merit of his other books, the more care should be taken to prevent the ill impressions

1756-73. which his sceptical writings may make on a number of readers, who, having been used to admire him, and trust in his judgment, are disposed to let him also judge for them in these points, where the being misled must be fatal."

In March, 1771, Mrs. Montagu sent the Minstrel to Lyttelton, "it seemed to me," (he wrote to her), "that my once beloved Minstrel, Thomson, was come down from heaven, refined by the exercise of purer spirits than those he lived with here, to let me hear him sing again the beauties of nature, and the finest feelings of virtue, not with human but with angelic strains."

How highly Beattie estimated Lyttelton's virtues and talents will be seen at the close of these memoirs.

CHAPTER XIV.

1757—1760.

BEGINNING OF MR. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

[Hagley MSS.—Parl. History, vol. xv.—Annual Register, beginning 1758.—Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iv.—Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs—Doddington's Diary—Coxe's Memoirs of Lord Walpole—Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii.

THE correspondence of Lyttelton with his brother, the Governor of South Carolina brings us back to the events of the political world. The penultimate chapter, it will be remembered, ended with the formation of a new government under Pitt, Devonshire, Temple, and Legge, to the exclusion of Newcastle, Fox, Lyttelton, and Anson. 1757.

FROM LYTTELTON TO HIS BROTHER WILLIAM.

"Hill Street, Jan. 30th, 1757.

"MY DEAR GOVERNOUR,

"I stopt a packet I designed to have sent to you some time ago, till I could let you know the fate of Admiral Byng, which it was thought would have been decided much sooner, but remains yet undecided,

1757. though sentence of death is now past upon him, the Court-Martial who past it, having recommended him to the King's mercy. The reason they give for that recommendation you will see in the sentence and letter to the Admiralty, of which I send you a copy, with some observations of my own on those reasons. It reduces the King to a painful dilemma. The nation in their addresses have desired strict justice against all who have occasioned the loss of Minorca by any failure or breach of their duty; and now a Court-Martial recommends very strongly to his Majesty's mercy, one whom they themselves have unanimously found guilty of not having done what he could, and what he ought to have done to relieve it. Under the difficulty, what the King will think proper to do, is uncertain: I am very glad I am not to be his adviser. I have sent you all the good political papers that have come out since the forming of the new Administration, you will see by them that Mr. Pitt is accused of a coalition with the Tories; and certain it is that he has become the Cocoa-Tree Toast, from being the object of their aversion last year. What has caused the change is hard to say. He denies any promise of advantage to them; but the alarm has been taken so strong by the Whigs that if the Duke of Newcastle and my Lord Hardwicke would have joined with Mr. Fox to turn him out, it is certain they might have done it before this time, and may do it to-morrow. Perhaps you will ask me why they did not?—I answer, that, besides the difficulty of that union, they are too wise, and too honest to pull down the Ministry at such a time of publick danger

without being sure that another will form itself, able 1757
to carry on the publick affairs. The present Ministers have undoubtedly talents sufficient to disturb and confound a Government they oppose, and they have shewn they will do so, if they are not employed. It is, therefore, best for the publick that they should try their talents in government rather than opposition, unless they act so as to make it impossible for any Whigs to support them. But they have made their bottom so narrow that they will find a great difficulty to carry the Government with their own strength alone, and if they are to be maintained by Tory assistance, they must pay such a price for it as will undo them. How they will extricate themselves out of this labyrinth time only can shew; much will depend on the events of the war, but to hope they will prove very favourable to us, is to be very sanguine.

"Among other difficulties, Mr. Pitt has his own bad health to contend with. Since he has been Minister he has been able to go but twice to the King, and is still indisposed and wrapt up in his flannels. The Bishop of St. Asaph* says, *he must go out soon, he can't stay in.*

"The Duke of Newcastle was attackt in the House of Commons last week, by Alderman Beckford, as First Commissioner of the Treasury, for encouraging smuggling. But it turned out even upon the evidence the Alderman brought, and by the testimony of those he appealed to, that no man at the head of the Trea-

* Dr. H. Drummond.

1757. sury Board had done so much to discourage smuggling as the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Legge himself, as in justice bound, gave testimony for him with regard to some facts that Beckford had mentioned, and Sir G. Lee made a very warm speech in his honour, and against calumnies upon hearsay. But the Alderman said it was notorious to every body that his Grace was at the head of a smuggling county, and he had done him a service to give him an opportunity of clearing his character in that respect—an admirable plea for all false accusations! I will venture to foretell that, when the enquiry is over, his Grace will be found to have just as much guilt in the loss of Minorca as he has in the Sussex smuggling, and I hope his accusers will justify themselves for charging him with it, by the Alderman's argument.

"An attempt has been made to assassinate the King of France. He was stabbed in the breast with a knife going into his coach; but the wound proved not mortal, and he now goes abroad. The assassin has been a servant in several families and it is said he has been guilty of robbing some of his masters. He did not try to escape but gave himself up very calmly, and seems a mad enthusiast, but of what sect, (that is, whether of the Jesuit or Jansenist party) I cannot yet learn. If of the former, no reason appears for his killing the King, who had just exiled the Parliament to please the Church; if of the latter, it was of no use to their cause unless he had killed the Dauphin too, who hates the Jansenists worse than his Father, and is a much greater bigot. Some say, he declared

that there was a design against the Dauphin too, even before he was tortured;* but it seems very improbable, that he should give him such warning when the torture could not make him confess his accomplices. I rather suppose he has none, but is a single madman. However, the wretch will be tortured much more before he dies. If, indeed, he was set on either by the Church or the Jansenists, it may produce great confusion in France and do us some good. I am glad to hear by your letter to Sir Richard, of December the 6th, that you have prepared for war in all events. You say nothing there of your health; so I hope you are well. I and all the family are so, but my wife; who is still confined at Hagley, by her ill health, *malade de corps et d'esprit.* * * * * * * 1757.

"Adieu, my dear Governour, I am ever,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"LYTTELTON."

Lyttelton wrote to Admiral Smith, the President of the Court Martial, as follows:

"Hill Street, Jan. 31st, 1757.

"MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

"IF you and the other gentlemen of the Court Martial have any reasons to give in favour of Mr. Byng, which you have not given in your sentence, and in your letter to the Admiralty, you ought to

* "The lifted axe, the agonising wheel,
Luke's iron crown and *Damien's* bed of steel."
Goldsmith's Traveller.

1757. transmit them forthwith to the Admiralty, that their Lordships may lay them before the King. Upon those you have given, I will only observe to you, that his not having shewn any symptoms of fear, *when he was in scarce any danger*, will not be sufficient to acquit him of cowardice in the sense of the law. His *not going into danger*, when he ought to have done so, is that criminal *negligence* which the law has made capital. You seem to think that law too severe; but it was the intention of the legislature to make it severe, and, till they repeal it, the judges of a Court Martial must act in a strict conformity to it; and you know the whole nation has called on the King to let the law have its course against any offender who shall be found, by a breach or neglect of his duty, to have occasioned the loss of Minorca, which petition His Majesty has promised to grant.

"You know my heart is inclined to compassion; but though I dare say, had I been one of his judges, my eyes would have been no dryer than yours when sentence was passed upon Mr. Byng, I cannot say that, without stronger reasons than those you have mentioned in the latter part of your sentence or letter to the Admiralty, I should have thought my *conscience* concerned in his being saved from the penalty contained in that sentence. If, then, you have stronger reasons to urge, for God's sake lose no time, but write them to the Admiralty that they may be laid before the King. My influence can do nothing, if my opinion were ever so clear; but the King's heart is inclined to mercy, and it is the duty of the Admiralty

to lay before him those grounds on which you desire it upon this occasion. 1757.

"I am heartily sorry for the very painful task you have had to go through, but hear with great satisfaction the honour you have done yourself in the discharge of it with so much humanity, justice, and dignity of behaviour. Believe me ever,

"My dear Admiral,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"LYTTELTON."

"If you mean that the Admiral's neglect of his duty was only an innocent error of judgment, you ought to show some probable reasons that could mislead his judgment so much, where the rule of his duty was so clear and plain. Otherwise, a wrong judgment may always be pleaded to excuse bad behaviour."

To the reasons conveyed in this letter, Lyttelton added in his comments on the back of the copy of the Court Martial, the following:—"If they had found upon evidence any impediment, or justifiable cause that hindered Admiral Byng from doing his duty in attacking the French, assisting his own ships, or endeavouring to relieve St. Philip's Castle, they should have acquitted him." And again, if there were "probable reasons" for shewing that his had been "an innocent error in judgment," they were not tied down by the words of the law to condemn him to death, for the law could mean only a criminal negligence, and an error in judgment on probable

1757. grounds may be fairly distinguished from such a *construction.*"

Lord Temple, First Lord of the Admiralty, signed most reluctantly the warrant for executing the sentence of which he disapproved. Some doubts he raised were overruled by the judges; his representations to the Crown, in favour of Byng were fruitless, as were those of Pitt, and the Duke of Bedford; and after some strange inconsistent proceedings on the part of several of the members of the Court Martial, the Admiral was consigned to his fate. No man ever met death with greater intrepidity.* The King had been for some time disgusted with Temple, and retained undiminished aversion to Pitt. The wretched business of Byng embroiled these ministers still more with the King; and the Duke of Cumberland murmured against commanding the Electoral army in Hanover under the control of Pitt. In April, Temple, Pitt, and Legge were dismissed; then followed what Walpole calls an *interministerium*, lasting between two and three months. In the labyrinth of negotiations in which this period is involved, the characters of the principal actors were fully displayed. The meanness and love of power of Newcastle, the haughtiness and magical popularity of Pitt, the obstinacy of the King, the intriguing ambition of the Princess Dowager, the profligate avarice of Fox.† The dexterity and

* Walpole, speaking of his failure at Minorca, says cleverly and truly, "he was a coward of his glory."

† "The more we consider the dissensions, and political intrigues that followed the death of Mr. Pelham, and lasted till the formation

talent of Chesterfield, produced a coalition of these discordant materials. The result was the renowned administration of Pitt and Newcastle; when the mighty genius of the former animating with his own greatness of purpose and energy of action, the fallen spirits of his countrymen, raised the glory of Great Britain to its highest pitch. 1757.

In the following letter from Lord Hardwicke, some account is given of the new Government. It will be seen that Lyttelton expected to have been a member of it.

"Powis House, July 4th, 1757.

"My dear Lord,

"Though I was much mortified by being deprived of the pleasure of waiting on your Lordship the day before you left the town, yet I was extremely obliged to you for your very kind letter of that night. It

of the Pitt and Newcastle Administration in 1757, the more plainly does it appear, that, though they originated from the Duke of Newcastle's love of power, they were prolonged by the ambition of the Princess Dowager, and her jealousy of the Duke of Cumberland. It was the connection of Fox with His Royal Highness, that made him the object of aversion at Leicester House. It was Pitt's "aiming at the reversion," when he became sensible of the hollowness and insincerity of the Duke of Newcastle's professions, that dissolved his incipient friendship with Fox, and prevented the two great leaders of the House of Commons from forming a permanent coalition. The Duke of Newcastle, false, timid, and ambitious, feared both, and cared for neither. For a time, he held the balance, and seemed to hesitate between the two rivals; but the rising star of Leicester-house prevailed, and determined him in his preference of Pitt."—*Edin. Rev.* Vol. 39, No. 33.

1757. breathes all that generosity of public-spiritedness which has been so remarkable in your Lordship's conduct, however uncommon it may be in the present times. The merit which your partiality gives me, I have not the vanity to ascribe to myself, though in all respect and friendship to your Lordship, I have not, nor shall ever fail. At the same time, I cannot help feeling much concern at the impression which you seem to retain of some neglect in the Duke of Newcastle towards your Lordship. How the case stood in the beginning of last November, I have formerly acquainted your Lordship with great truth and exactness; and in justice to His Grace, beg leave now to inform you with equal truth, that, in the new arrangement lately made, it was not in his power to include you. I am intimately acquainted with the high value and esteem which my Lord Duke has for your Lordship; but, to my certain knowledge, there were not employments enough to satisfy such demands, as were necessary to be complied with, in order to come to any settlement, and, consequently, none in any degree agreeable to your Lordship's rank could be made practicable. Time and opportunity may afford new openings, wherein I hope what is now amiss will be corrected. In the interim, the candour, indulgence, and confidence of our friends must be hoped for, and relied upon. I rejoice to find your Lordship so clear in your opinion, that this administration is the best that could be framed in our present circumstances. As to the share I have had in the transaction, I never directly interposed till I had

the King's positive orders from his own mouth; and ever since that time I have anxiously laboured to procure some quiet to His Majesty, and some settlement for the public. How far my part has been wise or politic I will not pretend to judge; but sure I am, it has been honest and disinterested. I have thrown aside every private concern or partiality of my own; for, as to the restitution of Lord Anson, it was the King's own option, and one of his three points *sine quibus non*. I gave up for my son Charles a point of professional honour, by letting Mr. Pratt be put before him as Attorney-General, in order to finish, and to prevent things training into a length which the circumstances of the King's affairs would not endure. This has been brought about by the disposition of the Great Seal, which I believe was the only thing in the arrangement not settled when you went out of town. My Lord Mansfield, and the Master of the Rolls, were too prudent to listen to it in the present situation; the King would not give Peerage with it, which put my Lord C. J. Willis out of the case, so that it has fallen into Sir Robert Henley's hands, with the style of Lord Keeper. In other parts of the terms, the King has been very gracious to him, for he has granted the reversion of a Teller's Place to his son for life; and given him a pension of £1500. per annum on Ireland, to commence and become payable *only* in the case of his being *removed* from the Great Seal, before the Teller's place falls in possession to his son, and to be absolutely determined whensoever that place shall come into possession. I 1757.

1757. look upon this as the best disposition that could be made at present, and much better approved in Westminster Hall than a Commission, which is always disliked, and should never be continued long. Sir Robert Henley has abilities and law, and I hope will do very well, if his health admits of it. One thing I am sorry for, which is, that your countryman, and my friend, my Lord Sandys, seems to be much dissatisfied with it, especially as no place has been yet found for him, which he says he was promised. But his Lordship knew his commission to be only temporary and provisional, hardly to be expected to continue so long; and I hope any promise, which was then made him (though I was not privy to it) will be made good to him.

"This disposition of the Great Seal, not only made way for Mr. Pratt, but also for another favourite object of Mr. Pitt's, in representing the city of Bath, whereof he was very ambitious. In order to it, he has taken that little stewardship, which you see in the votes, to vacate his seat; for no new Secretary of State having been appointed in his room, nor his commission revoked, he found himself in the case of Mr. Pelham, upon the resignations of 1745, and could not have a new patent.

"Thus things are settled for the present, and some calm and better humour restored. Happy it is that they were settled before the bad news came of the King of Prussia's defeat, which I only refer to, and cannot bear to enlarge upon. Had the King then remained without any ministry at all, it would have

vastly increased his inquietudes, and caused the greatest confusion; and besides, I fear the terms of the new settlement might have been greatly raised. Indeed, the fear of some bad success, was one material ingredient with me to hasten to a conclusion; and I was further of opinion, that it was necessary for His Majesty's service to constitute his administration of such persons, and to put so much of the popular mixture into it, as might be able to sustain some bad success, at least for the present. I say for the present, for what is unsuccessful can never be long popular. 1757.

"I hope to hear that the air and exercise, and amusements of Hagley, have re-established your Lordship's health; and that the history of Henry II. will receive its completion this summer. I was so delighted with the last, which your goodness indulged me with, that I eagerly long to be entertained with the entire piece.

"I am, with the greatest truth and respect,

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient,

"and faithful humble servant,

"HARDWICKE."

Lyttelton answered at some length, speaking in the highest terms of praise of Lord Hardwicke, expressing his despair (as Chesterfield and H. Walpole did at this time) as to the foreign prospects of the country, and expresses "his particular satisfaction at Lord Anson's being so honourably restored to an office which no

1758. other man in the kingdom is capable of filling with equal ability, and from which he had been removed by the clamour of faction and the madness of the times."

To the Governor, Lyttelton writes as follows:—

"Park Place, January the 23rd, 1758.

"My dear Governour,

"So many Carolina ships have been taken that I have not received any letters from you since that of January the 1st, in which you say you shall draw upon me for £118. 6s. 3d. nor has Mr. Pinkney. However, I paid him that sum last week. In my last letter I told you that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were not only ministers but the favourites of the people, particularly of the Tories, which favour and honour has since been confirmed to them in a most glorious manner by their receiving the freedom of the City of London, and several towns and boroughs, particularly of the most loyal City of Worcester, in gold or silver boxes. But it is hard to be at once the favourites of the people and of the King. Lord Temple's behaviour to the King in his closet gave so much offence, that his Majesty declared he never had been so treated by any servant or subject since his accession, and that he would rather give his crown to my Lord than live with him another month. In consequence of this, upon the Duke's going abroad his Royal Highness persuaded the King to turn him out. It was supposed that Mr. Pitt and the whole Grenville connection would immediately have resigned, but as they did not, a day or two afterwards Pitt was dismissed, and then the rest followed.

Lord Winchelsea was put at the head of the admin- 1758.
istration, but the question was who should fill the other employments. I must tell you, that if the Duke of Newcastle would have joined Fox, Pitt and Company might have been safely turned out before Christmas, or any day throughout the session, for the majority was plainly against them, and they carried questions only by the Duke of Newcastle's assistance. His Grace refused to join Fox for very wise and good reasons, and continued firm in that resolution, with his good friend, my Lord Harkwicke, when the Duke of Cambridge had too precipitately determined the King to turn out the Pitt faction without knowing whom to employ in their stead. By this means we have been for some time without any administration. Treaties were carried on to form one by a junction of the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt, Mr. Fox desiring only to be Paymaster under them. At first Pitt's terms were so high that the Duke of Newcastle was forced to break off the negotiation, but as he did not go any nearer to Fox, it came on again by the mediation of friends, particularly Lord Bute, and they agreed on conditions to which his Grace acquiesced. But they appeared to the King so dishonourable to him that he would not endure them, and having endeavoured in vain to bring the Duke of Newcastle to accept of the ministry without Pitt and *his friends*, he resolved to try to form one without his Grace. Last Saturday was se'nnight, Fox was to have kissed hands as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Exchequer Seal was brought to the King by Lord Mansfield, in whose custody it had

1758. been. But his Majesty having asked his Lordship's opinion upon what he was doing, was told *it was impracticable*, it could not hold. The day before, Lord Holderness had resigned his seals as a testimony of his disapproving the measure then taken, and other resignations were talked of at Court. Fox was disgraced in the House of Commons, by losing a question, which though of no consequence in itself was thought a mark of his weakness, very few dividing with him, and much ridicule ensuing thereupon. All this stopped the King, he sent my Lord Mansfield to the Duke of Newcastle, to my Lord Hardwicke, with orders to renew the negotiation with Pitt. The issue is at last, that Pitt is Secretary of State; Lord Temple, Privy Seal; the Duke of Newcastle, First Commissioner of the Treasury; Legge *his* Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Anson, First Commissioner of the Admiralty; G. Grenville, Treasurer of the Navy, Mr. Fox, Paymaster. Thus, *amende honorable* has been made to the Ministry which was displaced by Pitt's opposition. The clamour of that opposition was all against the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Anson and Fox. They are all in office again, two of them in the same that they were in before, and Pitt must either say, that when he called them in the House (as he did often last session) *Destroyers of their country*, bad heads or bad hearts, incapable ministers, *children in go-carts*, and other such appellations he wronged them extremely, or that he can serve with knaves and fools, without scruple or shame, when he and his family have carried the points they have at heart. He finds, indeed, that he and his family

are not able to govern the country *alone* as he sup- 1758.
posed at first that they could, and so denounced war against Fox and the Pelhams, with no allies but the Tories. That error he has seen, but how will he now deserve the gold boxes which were sent him for having turned out those vile ministers? I suppose he will have thanks from the same deep politicians, for having now brought them in, especially as by this time they may begin to perceive that while he was in, he did nothing else but tread in their steps and pursue the same measures they had pursued. Lord Hardwicke was pressed again to take the Great Seals, but desired to serve his Majesty out of employment; though he has been a principal agent of this reconciliation. And, he has done in it, as he always does, like a wise and honest man. He said, that if the Royal Family remained disunited no ministry could stand upon solid foundations, or have strength enough to carry on the war we are engaged in, or make the peace that we want in any event. The present plan reconciles all, unites all, and will give all the strength to the Government that can be brought together in the nature of things.

"How long it will *hold together* is the great question; but if it holds no more than one year, it gives us some chance of saving our country. I, therefore, rejoice at it very sincerely, though I desired myself for many reasons to be *out of the scramble.* The only misfortune of any importance in this new arrangement is, that Lord Hallifax has been disgusted and resigned his Board of Trade. Dupplin, I hear, will be in his

1758. place. I am glad you will have so good a friend there, and I hope Mr. Pitt will co-operate with him in all things for your service. We are in hourly expectation to hear of a battle between the Duke and the French. They have 50,000 men, we but 30,000; perilous odds, but he is encamped in a strong fort. Some think he will quit that camp and repass the water, but he cannot easily do so as the French are so near. The Gazettes will tell you as well as I can what situation the King of Prussia is in before Prague. His bombardment of the town may destroy it, but will not make Prince Charles and his army surrender either that or themselves. Famine may force them to both, if they are not relieved very soon. I hope the thousand men that Lord Sandon had orders to send you, have saved you and your colony from the intended attack of the French. God send us some luck in our American war; but I fear our fleet will come late, and perhaps not strong enough to overpower the French, if they have sent a strength in those parts as we hear."

* * * * * *

"We have had a sad blow by the loss of Calcutta in the East Indies, which has been taken and pillaged by a Nabob. It was entirely owing to the bad management of the Company in not fortifying their place as they ought to have done, and the scoundrel and negligent behaviour of the Governor. The damage of the Company and private men is computed at £3,000,000. sterling; but we hope that the place will soon be retaken, and that Watson will be able to make himself master of the French fort adjoining,

as he is at present superior to the French in those parts, Captain Clive,* our hero, is marched from Coromandel to Calcutta upon this event." 1758.

The next letter from Lyttelton to his brother was dated Jan. 30, 1758.

"My dear Governour,

"I have received no letter from you since one that was dated 12th of July, but have heard of some packets from you directed to me being thrown overboard; and by a letter which Hetty has just received I know you are well.

"That you *do well* is the unanimous voice of the Province of S. Carolina, Planters, and Merchants, and the Board of Trade are as well satisfied with you as they. Lord Hallifax told me lately, *he could find no words strong enough to express his approbation of your whole conduct*, and added that he would have made you Governour of Jamaica, if during the interval of the last summer, when he looked on himself as *out of the Board of Trade*, and did not *act* there, the Duke of Newcastle had not appointed Mr. Halden, which appointment he thought he could not overturn

* According to one of Horace Walpole's animated sketches of his speeches, when Parliament met in December, 1758, Pitt "burst "out into an eastern panegyric. There he found Watson, Pococke, "and Clive—what astonishing success had Watson with only three "ships, &c. He was supported by Clive—that man not born for a "desk—*that heaven-born general*, whose magnanimity, resolution, "determination, and execution would alarm a King of Prussia, "and whose presence of mind astonished the Indies."

1758. place. I am glad you will have s… …o that gentle-
and I hope Mr. Pitt will co-
things for your service. …
tion to hear of a battl… …ailure of the attack
French. They have … …xpeditions against the
rilous odds, but he … …wasted so much blood and
think he will qu… …owed that they diverted a
he cannot easi… …from attacking Prince Ferdi-
Gazettes wil… …popular outcry against Sir J.
the King … …Conway, the conductors of the
bardmer … …and its injustice with respect to the latter.
make … …

He continues:—

that … *"I shall only* add here that Legge and Pitt have
if t… *not been the dear* friends that they were—but that the
so … *former has been* forced to submit, and has ruined
… *himself in that* place where he desired and hoped to
ruin the other. Sir Richard can tell you more of this
matter. You ask if I have had any occasion to speak
since I came into the House of Lords? Never but
once, and that quite extempore upon a clause in the
Militia Bill. Lord Talbot and I had a sparring, and
my reply to him drew out some arguments upon the
nature of the Bill, which Lord Hardwicke did me the
honour to take notice of the next day, as being of very
great weight, and the Duke of Newcastle was loud in
praise of the whole speech. But I shall not seek, and
don't believe I shall find any occasion of speaking this
year. I write my history but lazily, and without
much of the spirit of an author upon me. I begin to
grow old, my dear Billy, and am willing enough to
let my life sleep and learn to love its end. However, I

forsake the Muses entirely till they forsake 1758.
ore serious affairs when I think I can do any
country, or credit to myself by acting a
* * * *

ieu, my dear Governour. *Macte tua virtute.*
nall never need to give you any other advice. They tell me you grow fat, in spite of all your cares: continue to do so; for my part I am lean in spite of my leisure."

Enclosed in this letter was one from General Huske to a friend, who, happening to be acquainted with Lyttelton, forwarded it to him. The picture which it exhibits of the mode in which patronage was bestowed in the Colonies at this time, as well as its testimony to Governor Lyttelton's character, made me think it fit to be inserted here.

"I am sorry I was not at home when you called. A few days ago I saw a gentleman of good sense and close attention to American affairs, who lately arrived from South Carolina. He tells me that of all the Governors he ever knew in America, where he resided for many years, and has been more than once through the whole Continent, none has governed with so much dignity, spirit and propriety as Governor Lyttelton; which has given the whole people under his government entire satisfaction, and procured him their highest respect and deference. He has very carefully avoided patronizing any party, and manifested the utmost indignation against dirty lucrative jobs and the projectors of them. And he is not less regardful of the

1758. people's rights and privileges, than he is jealous of the prerogative of the Crown. In short, he bids fair to rival all American Governors in the art of governing without offence to his superiors at home, or dissatisfaction to the people of the province, which will not only do honour to himself and his family, but to his Majesty's Ministry that sent him; who, with sorrow I speak it, have been so careless for many years past of the characters and abilities of the civil officers appointed for America, that most of the places in the gift of the Crown have been filled with broken Members of Par———t, of bad, if any, principles, pimps, valet de chambres, electioneering scoundrels, and even livery servants. In one word, America has been for many years made the hospital of Great Britain for her decayed courtiers and abandoned worn-out dependants. I can point you out a Chief Justice of a province appointed from home, for no other reason than publicly prostituting his honour and conscience at an election. A livery servant that is secretary of a province, appointed from hence. A pimp, collector of a whole province, who got this place of the man in power for prostituting his handsome wife to his embraces, and procuring him other means of gratifying his lust. Innumerable are instances of this sort in places of great trust, and would be of great honour if properly filled. Which, added to the great number of non-resident officers, who employ the man to do their business who will do it cheapest, is one of the principal causes of the weak and wicked management of our colonies, and of the weakening the authority and superintendency of the mother country.

" I can't gratify your other request, for I hear no news. Call upon me when you come this way again, and believe me to be, 1758.

" Your most faithful humble servant,

" HUSKE."

" Mr. Stevens gave me the above account of Governor Lyttelton, and mentioned to me several instances of fine conduct.

" Governor Reynolds is just returned from Georgia, where he behaved in such a manner as to become the object of contempt and ridicule to the whole people. You may remember I told you this would be the case, for I hardly ever knew it otherwise with a man bred in the navy and made a Governor. There would have been just as much propriety in making an Indian Sachem, Captain of a man-of-war, as Reynolds a Governor of a Province."

" Hill Street, May 5th, 1758.

" MY DEAR GOVERNOUR,

" I am desired by Lady Fanny Shirley to recommend Mr. Cooper, the bearer of this, to your Excellency's protection. She is still so fair a lady, that you owe a respect to her recommendation, on that account; and you know I have always been her admirer.

" Since my last, by Mr. Pickering, I have no news to tell you of our foreign affairs, but that the Magazine of last month will inform you of. The King of Prussia is in motion, and a battle is expected soon between him and the Austrians. Mr. Osborne's success

1758. in the Mediterranean, and Sir Edward Hawke's having stopt the French squadron at Rochefort, will give Boscawen *beau jeu*, in the enterprise against Louisbourg and all his operations in the American seas; for though a small squadron is since sailed from Brest, his force will be so superior to that of the French, as to make their going thither rather desirable to us, because it is probable they may be taken by him; and the Brest squadron is weakened by their departure, so that it will hardly be able to oppose our designs against them this year, if we form any in Europe (as by a great encampment which we are going to make in the Isle of Wight, it is supposed we shall do.) There is certainly great activity and spirit in Government, and it has a great force to act with both by sea and land, so that we have reason to hope some success from the operations we are commencing. I only wish we had a General in America more equal to the extent and importance of the command. The Duke of Marlborough, (quod felix faust umque sit) is to command the troops in the Isle of Wight; if Mr. Conway was employed under his Grace, as he wished and desired to be, I should think nothing would be wanting in that command, but the same reasons that made Mr. Pitt and his faction refuse him in America, have also prevailed to exclude him from any employment in Europe, which I fear will be, *magno reipublicæ detrimento.* God knows we have not more good Generals than we want, and none better than he. In our domestick affairs the most memorable event since I writ to you last was a speech of Mr. Pitt, in which he attacked, with a great deal of con-

tempt, the Treasury plan of taxes this year, and even adopted against it a wild idea, thrown out by Alder- 1758.
man Beckford, to the great surprise of the House and embarrassment of the good cities and boroughs of England, who had sent so many gold boxes to Legge in conjunction with him, and supposed them brothers in politicks, as well as in administration. You will naturally think, that after this attack, either Legge must go out or Pitt, but both will stay in, and the Duke of Newcastle is very easy about it. In truth, Pitt meant no more than to vent his ill-humour against Legge in this speech, which he should have kept in for his own sake; but his tongue is ruled by his passions, not by his reason. He is also engaged in another affair not very prudent for a minister, an attempt to extend the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act,* in cases of private

* The act of Charles II, referred only to cases where a criminal offence was charged. Pitt's and Pratt's proposal was to extend it to all cases of confinement. The measure, as amended by a suggestion made in this debate by Lord Hardwicke, was carried in 1816.

The opinions of the Judges were taken. "But," says Horace Walpole, "they were discordant and inconclusive, and so little was gained by the delivery of their opinions, that Lord Temple now pleaded for the Bill on the disagreement of the Judges, and moved a long question – the purport of which was, that an affidavit of confinement ought to be a probable cause for the Judges to grant the writ. Lord Lyttelton saying that in any other place, that question would be a defamatory libel on the Judges, Lord Temple started up and said, 'This is impertinence I will not bear.' This occasioned much confusion. Lord Lyttelton explained himself handsomely, saying, he had applied words to words—not to persons: he was sorry if he had given offence; he had meant less offence to Lord Temple than to any body: he revered the manes of

1758. confinement, and oblige the Judge, under the penalties prescribed by that act, to grant the writ on a bare affidavit of actual confinement, against the opinion of the twelve Judges, Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Keeper, who say it will be productive of the greatest inconveniences, and full of absurdities beyond imagination. He has no lawyer of eminence with him but Mr. Pratt, his own Attorney-General; however, he has carried the Bill through the House of Commons, but it will be thrown out in the House of Lords. In the debates he treated the lawyers with as little respect as Fox did on the Marriage Bill, and as you know he treats every body who dares to differ from him in any opinion. But his chief battery was levelled against my Lord Mansfield,† who will never forget or forgive that ill

their former friendship: he hoped the ashes were not extinguished past return. To all this Lord Temple said nothing: and when the House insisted on their giving their words that it should proceed no further, Lord Temple sullenly endeavoured to avoid it by shifting the asking of pardon on Lord Lyttelton. The latter engaged with frankness to drop it, always the most sensible way when words have passed in public, which are sure of being prevented from further discussion. Lord Lyttelton was known to want no spirit: Lord Temple had been miserably deficient."

* Horace Walpole gives the following vivid picture of Lord Mansfield's speech on this occasion. "The fate of the Bill which could not be procured by the sanction of the Judges, Lord Mansfield was forced to take on himself. He spoke for two hours and a half; his voice and manner, composed of harmonious solemnity, were the least graces of his speech. I am not averse to own that I never heard so much argument, so much sense, so much oratory united. His deviations into the abstruse minutiæ of the law served but as a foil to the luminous parts of the oration. Perhaps it

usage, and an attempt was made in the City by some of 1758.
Mr. Pitt's faction to raise a popular storm on him there, with so little foundation, that the agents in it were forced let drop the charge with disgrace and confusion. The story is too long to write, but it appears to me one of the blackest and most infamous practices that ever I heard of in all the history of our factions. These things will be treasured up against the *day of wrath*, which will come sooner or later, according to the success we meet with in the war. Pitt's conduct is the more strange, because I find he does all his business with the King by the Duke of Newcastle, and at the same time that he attacked the Treasury scheme in the House of Commons, and acts so offensively against Lord Mansfield, and with so little management for Lord Hardwicke. I took the occasion of the late treaty with Prussia, to shew the House of Lords *the fearful consistency* of the King's measures in foreign affairs, since the first apprehension of an attack upon Hanover in consequence of a war between us and France; which, shewing the *inconsistency* of the opposition then made to those measures, with the support given to them now by our patriot Ministers, provoked Lord Temple to a rude but silly answer to me. Both my speech and my

was the only speech, that in my time at least, had real effect; that is, convinced many persons. Nor did I ever know how true a votary I was to liberty, till I found I was not one of the number staggered by that speech. I took as many notes of it as I possibly could; and prolix as they would be, I would give them to the reader, if it would not be injustice to Lord Mansfield to curtail and mangle, as I should by the want of connection, so beautiful a thread of argumentation."

1758. reply were received with greater applause than any that I ever made in my life. The praises given me upon both, not only by all my friends, but by people to whom I was a stranger, and by many of other connections were so high and so warm, that I can impute them to nothing but a detestation in mankind of Lord Temple's pride, and a conviction of the truth of all that I said; I may add, too, a desire to have that truth freely spoken. I told the Duke of Newcastle it was well for him, that there was *one* friend of his who durst defend all his measures, past as well as present, and would not embarrass his Grace by so doing, with his new allies. He smiled at my compliment, and I know was not at all displeased in his heart. Lord Hardwicke expressed the highest approbation both of the matter and manner of my speech and reply. I kept my temper in both, and the decorum that suits and pleases the House of Lords. Temple did not, and had no wit to atone for the want of decorum. You will laugh when I tell you that the report to Sir Richard was, that his Lordship, by his reply, *had cut me to pieces.** So their cabal goes on—flattering them-

* "Lord Lyttelton spoke well, distinguishing between two parts of administration, and too ridiculously ascribing whatever had been done well to the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Temple answered him with vehement abuse, and applied to him a passage out of Tully, which Lord Lyttelton had formerly inscribed on a temple at Stowe—the gentle conclusion of it was to call him 'hominem detestabilem imbecillum.' Lord Lyttelton, as usual, replied with firmness, but with too little asperity considering how unrelenting towards him was the nature of that faction."—Walpole's Mem. of G. II. p. 294.

selves and scarce hearing the sense of the world upon their behaviour. By this time, I imagine, they will know the truth, and perhaps, will revenge themselves upon me by the infamous pen of some pamphleteer, for in Parliament I don't see what revenge they can take. But that kind of attack will, I think, do more harm to themselves than to me. If they are so mean as to take it, I shall go on to support all their measures, while they pursue the same principles upon which I have acted, and will continue to treat their persons and characters with proper respect: but I will defend my own conduct whenever I see a proper occasion, and if they call *that* hostility, I cannot help it. However, I believe that few occasions will arise of doing this any more, nor do I desire that there should, for all that I wish is *otium cum dignitate*. The troops encamped in the Isle of Wight will be about four thousand, but whether all will be sent upon this expedition that seems to be designed by the Ministry, is not yet known, no more than the object of that expedition. Some conjecture that it is only a feint to amuse and keep the French alarmed on their coast; but I have good reason to believe that much more is meant by it, and that it may have more than one object. God send us better success than in our secret expedition last year, and those we have usually met with from such undertakings. If I am rightly informed, we are building some flat-bottomed vessels which may be of great service in making descent. 1758.

"All my family are doing well, little Tom is at Eton and very happy there. His sister is in town, but goes to Ebrington soon: she is a good girl, and does not want

1758. understanding, *mais peu de Genie point de Graces.* Her face and figure I believe will turn out very well, if awkward tricks do not spoil them. Perhaps time may improve her in many respects, but it will never make her a *large fortune.* From Tom I hope all that a parent's heart can desire, if God gives him life, and he continues to improve as he has done hitherto.

" Adieu, my dear Governour, may heaven prosper your endeavours for the good of your colony, and give you a long life to enjoy the reputation you are acquiring. I am proud of my *eléve,* and flatter myself that Carolina is obliged to me in some measure for the virtues they admire in you, as well as for sending you to them at a time when they wanted those virtues so much.

" Pitt has a very bad fitt of the gout. Some physicians, who know his constitution, declare that if he continues a Minister, he will not live long."

The British navy, which, in spite of the calamitous beginning of the war, was destined under Hawke, Rodney, Boscawen, Saunders, and Keppel, to triumph in every quarter of the globe, was even now beginning to sustain her ancient renown. The French seem to have seriously meditated an invasion. At Havre, Toulon, Brest, Dunkirk, preparations were made on a large scale. Admiral George Rodney was sent to bombard Havre, and Sir Edward Hawke, Brest. Pitt had called out the militia, and with it the public spirit of his countrymen, who at this time did all but worship him. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had, at the recommendation of the King of Prussia, succeeded to the

command of the Hanoverian army. On the 13th of July, Lord Egremont* wrote to Lyttelton:— 1759.

"I fear Admiral Rodney's bombarding expedition will scarce turn out to be worth the powder and shot fired away. If we have no invasion, I shall never imagine it was prevented by his setting fire to one magazine, and if we have one, perhaps the bombardment may exasperate our enemies, and make them still more mischievous. His letter in the Gazette, puts me in mind of Earl Poulett's shooting with bow and arrows at geese. Being interrogated how many he had slain, his Lordship's answer was, 'None killed, not one, but I put them all into the utmost consternation.' I rejoyced at your Lordship's account of Saunders being sailed in good health. I hope and believe he will do his business, but how Prince Ferdinand will get out of his present situation, or how we shall get out of the situation the ruin of his army and the losses in Lower Saxony would put us into, God only knows. I am afraid to think about it. If my remains of gout let me come to town, before your Lordship sets out for the north, I shall wait upon you, if not, I wish you a pleasant and good journey. Lady Egremont† charges me with her sincerest compliments. I am, my dear

* His sister married Mr. Grenville; they were children of Sir W. Wyndham, who died 1740.—See p. 148.

† Lyttelton wrote some verses on Lady Egremont—in a dialogue between Fame and Virtue—the latter says,

"I know the best of wives and mothers;
Who never pass'd an useless day
In scandal, gossiping or play:
Whose modest wit, chastis'd by sense,
Is lively, cheerful innocence;

1759. Lord, with the greatest respect, and most unalterable truth,

" Your Lordship's most obedient
" and most faithful servant,
" EGREMONT.

" Petworth, July 13, 1759."

Soon afterwards Lyttelton wrote again to his brother.

" Hill Street, July 20, 1759.

" I am just setting out for the Highlands of Scotland. My old house being down, and my new one not yet quite fit to inhabit, I take this time for a northern tour, which will entertain me very agreeably, if while I am amusing myself in the north, the French don't land in the south, as they threaten to do. Their preparations to invade us, are greater than any that have been made, since the Spanish Armada."

Then follows an account at great length of the bombardment of Havre (which will be found below in Rodney's own letter)—of the King of Prussia's movements—of the probable death of the King of Spain,—and of the delight Lyttelton took in the promise afforded by the opening talents of his son—it continues—

" We have had, and still have, the finest summer here,

Whose heart nor envy knows, nor spite,
Whose duty is her sole delight ;
Nor rul'd by whim, nor slave to fashion,
Her parent's joy, her husband's passion.
* * * * *
'Tis princely Petworth's noble dame ;
'Tis Egremont—go, tell it, Fame."

Lyttelton's Works, vol. iii. p. 169.

Upon these verses Lord Hardwicke wrote some extempore lines in praise of Lyttelton.—ibid.

that ever was known. Adieu, my dear Governor, God 1759.
prosper you and your Government, and may you find England at your return triumphant over France. The Petits Maitres at Paris talk of nothing now but the conquest of it by their Grand Monarque, *nous croquerons l'Angleterre*, is the *Word à la Mode, le bon ton.* But I hope the rascals will find it a very tough morsel, and that it will stick in their throats and choak them.

"You are advised to send me the following seeds:—Great and small Magnolia; Umbrella Tree; Red Accacia; Purple Berrice Bay. I must also renew my petition for wood ducks, the French having taken and *eat* those you sent."

The two next letters are from Admiral Rodney to Lyttelton.

"Deal, October 20th, 1759.

"My Lord,—This day I had the honour to be favoured with your most obliging letter, with one enclosed from Mr. William Hawes, which I would answer, if I knew his direction, his account of Havre is exactly the same as I have received from the masters of many neutral vessels that have come from that port. Your Lordship may please to remember that I foretold the strength of the enemy; but what will in some measure surprise you is, that after all my waiting, I was sent on the second attack, with only three mortars of 13 inch, and two mortars of 10 inch, when the enemy had increased their strength, with the addition of upwards of fifty mortars, several new batteries on shore, beside three large floating batteries on the sands, and 13 armed galleys, and vessels with oars—each with a heavy cannon in their prow. Had the enemy concealed their

1759. strength till I had placed the bombs, they might have had ample revenge, but their own eagerness to convince me they had not been idle during my absence, prevented his Majesty's arms receiving that disgrace that must have ensued, had I persisted in the bombardment; as the bombs must have been exposed to all the fire of the galleys and batteries without a possibility of covering them with the ships, the water being so shoal. However I have kept them in continual apprehension, have blocked up the Port, and permitted nothing to enter the river, till the late very hard gale at south-west, dispersed my squadron, and drove me into the Downs, where my stay will be very short. I have one pleasure since being here, that the wind has blown very hard upon the French coast, and must have prevented any embarkation of troops, not but what I must as a friend tell your Lordship, if the danger to England is to proceed from Havre, I have not half sufficient strength to destroy them, should they come out, viz. one ship of fifty guns and three frigates all very foul, and of course sail bad. I have represented this to my masters, and desired some heavy ships; by their answer, I conclude they think no danger can ensue from thence, as they inform me they will send me a reinforcement when they can spare ships from more important services. I own this letter gave me comfort, as I imagined their intelligence must be good, for I own to your Lordship that I thought all the danger that threatened England was from Havre, as I knew they had 300 flat bottom boats, *of two or three hundred tons each*, with a large army in their neighbourhood, ready to embark.

"However, let what will be the consequence, I shall 1758.
do my duty, and endeavour to destroy all that's possible; but as a friend, I cannot help suggesting to your Lordship, that if they had the spirit of men, the enemy would venture out the beginning of a dark night with a southerly wind; if by chance they should get the start of us, before discovered, with fifty or one hundred of their boats in the rear, which would make a battery of so many heavy cannon if they kept close together, they might greatly annoy us before we could possibly get up with them, and in all probability might dismast some of the ships. For this reason, if your Lordship pleases to recollect, I proposed having another squadron off Beachy, to intercept the enemy if by chance they should escape the vigilance of the squadron off Havre. If I had a sufficient force, I should station them in such a manner, as to have the enemy between two fires should they venture out, and as Thurot is now sailed, (if there is any danger), I suppose Havre will be more attended to. I know your Lordship too well to think you will look upon this letter in any other light than as my private sentiments to one whom I esteem it as an honour to call my friend; I do assure you I have not wrote in this style to any other person or made the least complaint, and therefore hope you will not communicate its contents to any person, but my old dear friend the Admiral, to whom I beg your Lordship will pay my best respects.

"Give me leave again, my Lord, to beg your assistance in an epitaph; the Admiral, who knew her, will tell you her character, 'tis what my heart is set on, and

1759. the greatest obligation you can possibly confer on him, who is, with the utmost sincerity and respect,

"Your Lordship's most obedient,

"and most humble servant,

"G. R. RODNEY."

"P. S. Pardon the incoherencies in this letter and remember I am a sailor."

The next letter is dated—

"In the Road of Havre, Nov. 3rd, 1759.

"MY LORD,

"I believe I may now congratulate you, on the invasion from this Port being suspended for this winter, the Duke de Harcourt, and all the troops (two battalions excepted), having left the town, and marched into the country, all their encampments being likewise broke up, and the flat bottom boats continuing at Rouen. Had the enemy really intended to make their embarkation from hence, they never could have had a more favourable opportunity than has offered for these ten days past, and which in all probability will not return again in many months. The wind has been between the south and east, with light airs, hazy weather, and remarkable smooth water: had they come out, it would have been impossible for my little squadron who were becalmed for three days, to have intercepted them. However, I have been for several days past at an anchor before the town, and shall so continue while the weather is favourable, though this advanced season will soon oblige me to retire, it being impossible to keep this station in bad weather, which at

the same time that it drives me off, will prevent the enemy's putting to sea. 1759.

"My friend the Admiral (to whom I beg my best respects), knows full well the anxiety I have endured for some time past; however, if it has answered the desired effect, and kept the enemy in awe, I submit to it with pleasure.

"Your Lordship will do me but justice in being assured that I have the honour to be with real regard and respect,

"Your most obliged,
"and most obedient humble servant,
"G. R. RODNEY."

W. Lyttelton was made Governor of Jamaica about this time. Our victories in the East and West Indies, and the conquest of Canada, had changed the desponding tone of his brother's correspondence into one continued song of triumph.

"Hill Street, Dec. 4, 1759.

"ALL joy to you, my dear Billy—joy of your recovery, joy of your new Government, joy of all the very prosperous events of this year, in which it is hard to say whether we owe more to the fortune of our army, or the valour of our troops. Never was there such a series of happy and glorious events!—Guadaloupe conquered, just before a reinforcement arrived; our East Indies saved when the Company themselves had despaired of their safety; the battle of Minden won, when the King expected nothing but

1759. that the French would be master of his Electorate; the King of Prussia on the point of repelling all his enemies, and regaining all Saxony, after having been brought by his battle with the Russians to the very brink of destruction; the French and Canadian army beat, and Quebec taken by Wolf, when he himself had just writt to the Government here in a style so desponding that all hopes of success in that quarter were given up for this year; Roscommon meeting with and beating Le Clerc after his squadron had gott through the Straits, and so preventing their junction with the Brest fleet; and lastly, Sir Edward Hawke defeating that fleet by a change of the wind, which brought him out of Torbay, where, if he had been detained three days longer, Marshall Conflans would have conveyed an army of 14,000 men into Ireland, and Thurot would have probably landed in another part of it with 1500 more. There was, indeed, some ill-luck in the stormy weather and darkness which prevented Sir Edward Hawke from entirely destroying all the French fleet; but even as it is, their Marine has received such a blow as it cannot recover during this war:—their schemes of invasion are defeated, their reputation at sea is quite sunk, and the spirit of the nation must be sunk too by the ignominious behaviour of their fleet in an action upon which they seemed to have placed all their hopes, and staked all their credit. I send you no particulars, because you will see them in the publick Papers, which I know are sent to you by Mr. Wright. Just before our sea-victory, his Majesty and the King of Prussia had declared to

all the belligerent powers that they are ready to send Plenipotentiaries to the place which shall be thought most proper, in order to treat conjointly of a general peace. The first view of this overture was to shew our moderation; but being followed by our success in Quiberon Bay, it may possibly produce some offers from France, which may bring on a beginning of negotiation. If the war lasts another year I think the French will turn their whole strength against Hanover, and let out their men-of-war to their merchants for privateers, as they did in Queen Anne's time, to prey on our trade, and make our merchants desirous of peace. Their finances are in the utmost disorder; their credit is destroyed; their government and even their army full of faction and discord. Yet I think they will be able to hold out a twelvemonth; and if they can get the Russians back, all Germany may yet undo the King of Prussia, and make Hanover pay for Quebec. Indeed, it is not yet certain that his Prussian Majesty will be able to recover Dresden this winter. Thank God we have perfect union* at home, which is both the cause and the consequence of our success, and our credit is as high as can be desired; yet the eight millions which are to be raised the next year will be a terrible burthen upon us, and it will be hard 1759.

* "*Punch*—Who is that? *Luckless*—That is an Orator, Master Punch. *Punch*—An Orator!—what is that? *Luckless*—Why an Orator is—egad, I can't tell what:—he is a man that nobody dares dispute with."—*Fielding's Pleasures of the Town.* H. Walpole's motto to the Year 1758.—Vol. ii. Memoirs of George the Second.

1759. to find specie to answer so much paper. This, my dear Billy, is our general political state: private politicks I reserve till I have the pleasure to see you; and indeed I trouble myself but little about them. I come now to what regards only yourself. The Government of Jamaica will, I hope, be as agreeable as profitable to you, if the prepossession which your new subjects have in your favour can be preserved, and by your prudence I hope it will, though they are a very factious people, and hard to rule. All the chief planters here, except the great Beckford,* have been to compliment me upon your being their Governor, and exprest the highest satisfaction on that account. Mr. Pitt, I suppose, will make Beckford your friend, or at least keep him quiet; but he is a strange fellow. I am afraid you will lose a great deal of money by coming to England, and the gentlemen of the island say you ought to be there for the publick service at present; but as Lord Hallifax has a mind you should come to receive his instructions, and you seem yourself to desire it, I cannot oppose it. * * * *
I shall, therefore, have the pleasure of your company at Hagley in the first opening of my new house, and a great joy it is to me that you will be a partaker in the jollity of that day. My house, my dear Billy, is now my own again, and consequently yours. I past the last summer most agreeably in a tour through the North of England and Scotland, as far as Inverary. The weather was the finest I ever saw in my life, and

* Famous for his wealth—his influence in the city—his devotion to Pitt, and for being the father of the author of Vathek.

I had as great honours done me by the nobility and 1759.
the principal cities in Scotland, as if I had been a first minister, or the head of a faction. But much the greatest pleasure I had in my tour was from the company of my son, whom I carried along with me, and from the approbation (I might say admiration) which his figure, behaviour, and parts drew from all sorts of people wherever we went. Indeed his mother has given him her *don de plaisir*, and he joins to an excellent understanding the best of hearts, and more discretion and judgment than ever I observed in any young man, except in you.

"As Brigadier Townsend has brought over from Canada a young savage boy for his friend, Lord G. Sackville, I think you should bring a young savage girl for your friend my Lord Hallifax. You will say we have *wild girls* enough in this country.

"I must tell you a story of G. Townsend's boy. When the bonfires were lighted here for Sir Edward Hawke's victory, he concluded that they were kindled to roast him alive, *a-la-mode de Canada*, and begun to sing *his death song* with a very dismal face, till means were found to explain to him what the cause of them was, and that no harm was intended to him."

In a note to page 27 of vol. ii. of Walpole's Memoirs of George the *Third*, the Editor makes the following remarks:—

"The accomplishments of Lord Lyttelton were undeniable. Unfortunately they were overshadowed by an infirmity of judgment that materially lessened the

1759. dignity of his character. He seems to have been the easy dupe of Archibald Bower. There was often much misplaced sentiment in his conversation. His letters teem with foolish conceits, and the extravagant notions he entertained of parental authority made him so severe and injudicious a father, as to afford some excuse for the gross misconduct of his son, a young nobleman whose brilliant abilities he was almost the only person unwilling or unable to appreciate. His public and private life had been irreproachable."

Now I believe this account to be most erroneous as to his conversation—his letters—and his conduct to his son. His conversation was esteemed by contemporaries who were no mean critics—not one of the many letters before me betrays any foolish conceit—and many of them show, like the last, that so far from "being unwilling or unable to appreciate" the abilities of his gifted and unhappy son, he took the utmost pride and pleasure in witnessing their development. They contain also abundant evidence of the warmth of affection and lenity of temper which induced him to forgive, while he strove to correct those failings and vices which impaired the fortune, and embittered the declining years of his life. I had not intended to have touched again upon this painful subject, but I thought this vindication due to the memory of Lord Lyttelton.

In the Hagley MS. of this year are letters from Lord Marchmont, and the Duke of Newcastle, but not sufficiently interesting to be printed, The following letter from Rodney to a friend is worthy of perusal.

"A storm drove me in here, and still detains me. 1759.
I suppose you have heard of the five flat bottom boats, loaded with cannon and shot, that I drove on shore, and destroyed at Port Bassin; as likewise of the ten others, that, with great difficulty, escaped into the River Orne, leading to Caen. The enemy had the confidence to sail from Harfleur in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, and making all the parade possible, while the hills on each side the river, and the walls of Havre, were covered with spectators, who were astonished that the English squadron made no motion whatever. I feared it would be to no purpose till the vessels had passed the river Orne, as they had it in their power to take shelter in several small ports. However, I kept my eye constantly on them, and had given directions to my squadron to have all ready the moment I made signal to chase. When the enemy got the length of Caen River, they kept standing backward and forward upon the shoals, and I plainly perceived intended to push for it after dark; thereupon, I gave directions to my small vessels, the moment it was dark, to make all the sail possible for the mouth of the river Orne, to cut off the enemy's retreat; and with my other ships, made the utmost dispatch, without signal or light, for the steep coast of Port Bassin. This had the desired effect. The enemy were met by two of my squadron, disguised like Dutchmen off Point Percée, who turned them; when, perceiving their retreat cut off, they run ashore, and met the fate I have told you. They are remarkably fine vessels, upwards of one hundred

1759. feet long, and capable to contain from three to five hundred men for a night's run. This success has had the desired effect, the enemy having unloaded a hundred others that were ready to sail, and sent them all up again to Rouen. I forgot to tell you each vessel carries two eighteen pounders; and as they were scuttled when run ashore, we could not get them off, especially as the enemy's troops appeared numerous, and were entrenched so as to flank the landing. Many thanks to you for your intelligence, and believe me to be

"Your obliged and obedient
"humble servant,
"G. R. RODNEY."

CHAPTER XV.

1760—1766.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE THIRD TO THE CLOSE OF THE ROCKINGHAM ADMINISTRATION.

[Hagley MSS.—Walpole's Memoirs of George the Third, vols. i. & ii. —Chatham's Correspondence, vols. ii. iii.—Burke's Correspondence, vol. i. — Parliamentary History, vols. xv. xvi., Annual Register for each year—Adolphus' History of England, vol. i. ed. 1841—Burke's Observations on a late state of the Nation, and Thoughts on the present Discontent.]

"In times full of doubt and danger to his person, 1760.
and family, George the Second maintained the dignity of his crown connected with the liberty of his people, not only unimpaired but improved for the space of thirty-three years. He overcame a dangerous rebellion abetted by foreign force and raging in the heart of his kingdoms, and thereby destroyed the seeds of all future rebellion that could arise upon the same principle. He carried the glory, the power, the commerce of England to a height unknown even in this renowned nation in the times of its greatest prosperity, and he left his succession resting on the true, and only true, foundations of all national and all regal greatness—affection at home, reputation abroad, trust in allies, terror in rival nations." Such is part of the magnificent panegyric of Mr. Burke upon the reign we have just closed; but those who look back from the eminence of nearly a century since those words

1760. were written—those who consider the state of the criminal law and the almost entire neglect of the education of the people, at the time when science devoted to the production of physical comfort, was daily calling into existence that enormous manufacturing population* at which our age stands aghast, as at a phenomenon with which it is as yet but imperfectly acquainted—those who agree in the opinion I have ventured to express about the state of the church† and the general tone of society, will hesitate before they adopt the glowing conclusion of this panegyric. "The most ardent lover of his country cannot wish for Great Britain a happier fate than to continue as she was then left—a people emulous as we are in affection to our present sovereign, know not how to form a prayer to Heaven for a greater blessing upon his virtues or a higher state of felicity and glory than that he should live and should reign, and when Providence ordains it, should die like his illustrious predecessor." But whatever difference of opinion may exist upon this matter there will be none as to the fact, that few kings ever ascended the throne in a brighter sunshine of popularity than George the Third. "A passionate, domineering woman," says Sir R. Walpole,

* Arnold's VII. Lecture has some admirable remarks on the evils incident to a state "where the Church seemed to have, but had not, the whole nation within its pale," and where "the popular party took no care that liberty should be the mother of virtue," while "the antipopular party restrained without educating." It is instructive to compare the deep wisdom of these pages with the shallow remarks of Schlosser.—(See Vol. ii. p. 193, Geschichte des actzehnten Jahrhunderts.)

† Chapter x.

" and a favourite without talents soon drew a cloud over this shining prospect." It must I think be admitted that Lord Bute was the immediate instrument, whatever might be the remoter causes, of bringing the constitution of this country into great jeopardy; but for me it remains only to notice those events in the next twelve years in which the subject of these memoirs was more immediately concerned. 1761.

Soon after the accession of the young monarch, Pitt found himself perpetually thwarted by a secret influence in the Cabinet - and his was not a spirit to brook such treatment. Pursuing his scheme for humbling the House of Bourbon he discovered the famous Family Compact between France and Spain, and demanded that our ambassador should be recalled from Madrid, and war immediately declared against Spain—this demand being overruled by the majority of the Cabinet, he and Lord Temple resigned on the 5th of October, 1761. So ended the first administration of Mr. Pitt—and looking to the suddenness of the change from despair to triumph, effected by it in the minds of the people—to the rapidity, variety, and extent of the conquests achieved, pregnant with results yet imperfectly developed, but affecting the destinies of half the globe—to its uninterrupted course of brilliant success—to the homage paid during its existence to the British name throughout the globe—looking to these things, it is difficult to deny that no War Minister of these realms had ever so brilliant a career.

On the 17th of this month Lord Hardwicke wrote to Lyttelton :—

1761. "Grosvenor Square, Oct. 17th, 1761.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"UNDER the greatest* afflictions, it is some degree of consolation to be kindly remembered by our most valuable friends at a distance. In this light I consider the honour your Lordship has done me by your most obliging letter, which demands my best thanks. I am too sensible how little pretence I have to any of those great qualities, which your partiality gives me; but I have learned, both as a man and a Christian, to submit with humble resignation to the wise dispensations of Providence, however severe and trying—*resigno quæ dedit;* though I cannot forget my own melancholy situation kept me for some time out of the world, factious and disagreeable as it is. The *extraordinary* events which your Lordship mentions, have happened since my strictest confinement was over: and when I see your Lordship (a pleasure which I perceive is not far off) I will acquaint you with such circumstances as have come to my knowledge, too long, and some of them not quite so proper for a letter by the post. The world is surprised at the last scene; since which I have had a conversation with Mr. Pitt, who talks with much temper and moderation. I hope that temper will be preserved, and am persuaded that, when he accepted these graces from the King, it was his intention, *servetur ad imum*, though I find that begins to be doubted of.

"It is no news to you that Lord Egremont has the Seals of the southern province. You know how much I esteem and honour that noble Lord, and I fear nothing in his case but his precarious health. I heartily

* This alludes to the death of his wife.

wish that this addition of one friend more of yours to the administration, may turn out as it ought to your Lordship's advantage;—I should have added to that of the public, and of your humble servant. The Duke of Newcastle is much flattered by your obliging remembrance of him; makes no doubt of the sincerity of your good wishes; and hopes you do not distrust his. 1762.

"As Mr. G. Grenville is to have the conduct of business in the House of Commons, Mr. Prowse* is the person thought of for Speaker. In this dearth of objects for the chair, I am very creditably assured that this is not at all disagreeable to the Whigs; but, whether he will accept or not I have not yet heard.

"I hope your Lordship enjoys good health,—happy amidst the beauties of Hagley,—*inter Sylvas reptare salubres, curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est.*

"I am always, with the utmost truth and esteem, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient humble servant,

"HARDWICKE."

The Duke of Newcastle deserted Pitt, hoping to be considered the head of the administration he had left, but his treachery was unrewarded, and his own resignation but for a short time delayed. Lord Bute was considered first minister. About this time began Mr. Pitt's quarrel with Mr. Grenville, which made a severe breach in that powerful party.

"The valour of the people had taken such a bent, (says Horace Walpole,) that Lord Bute would not check it, nothing but a peace could chain it up." On the

* M.P. for Somersetshire: he declined on the ground of ill-health. Lord Bute procured the election of Sir John Cust.

1762. 22nd March, in the ensuing year, the news of the conquest of Martinico by General Monckton and Admiral Rodney arrived. The people ascribed, probably with justice, the scheme to Pitt. Here follows the victor's account of it to Lyttelton.

"Martinico, June 29th, 1762.

"My Lord,

"Yesterday I was favoured with your Lordship's letter of the 27th of June, and find myself unhappy that I cannot so soon have it in my power to obey your commands as I could wish, the Stirling Castle being gone upon the expedition with Sir Geo. Pocock against the Havannah. I must needs say that Captain Everet is to blame; had he acquainted me that your Lordship had a relation on board his ship, I should certainly have taken him with me and provided for him long since. I will, however, write to Mr. Keppel either to make him a lieutenant, or send him by the first opportunity to me, that I may convince your Lordship how very much I shall always respect any person who has the honour to be recommended by you. Give me leave to return your Lordship my most sincere thanks for your kind congratulations on the success of his Majesty's arms in this part of the world.

"It ill becomes me, who had the honour of being one of the happy instruments employed on this occasion to talk much on the subject, but as I well know from your Lordship's zeal for the welfare of Britain and her armies, and as I have had time thoroughly to examine into the nature of the conquests we have lately made I am sure your Lordship will be glad to know my opinion as far as is consistent with the safety of those

islands which have long been under his Majesty's government. The more I have reflected upon the consequence of Martinico, the more I am astonished at the behaviour of the French court, who could neglect to support a colony upon which, not only depended their own empire in these seas, but likewise that of Great Britain, for the island of Martinique is so happily situated by nature, that whoever possesses it, can at pleasure command off the others, and in itself, if perfectly supported, is impregnable, from the whole country being one entire fortification by nature. It is astonishing to me, as they have been superior in these seas during this war, that they did not overrun all our islands, sweep all the slaves, and destroy the plantations, for to keep our islands would not have been worth their while. Martinique being capable to make more sugar than all our islands put together. 1762.

"I, my Lord, have had an opportunity of visiting all the English islands, none of which are capable to make the least defence; and I would answer to take the whole with two thousand men in a month. I have likewise conversed with the principal and most sensible part of the inhabitants of Barbadoes, Antigua, and St. Christopher's, who all agree that the neutral islands will never be settled by Englishmen if Martinico is given up. The vicinity of that island is an invincible obstacle to their settlement; as, in a few hours' sail, their labour and expense of several years might be destroyed before they could receive succour from Europe, or even from the old English islands, and to keep garrisons of troops in islands overrun with wood,

1762. must be attended with the deaths of thousands before they could possibly be cleared to yield any profit to their mother-country. The planters are divided between avarice and fear, they think if Martinique is retained, they will be obliged to lower the price of their sugars. On the other hand, if it is given up, they fear the loss of their own plantations in case of another war, and that the French will overrun them before they can receive succours from Europe, which, as I said before, they may easily do, and the example of this war has taught them a lesson, which I fancy they will never forget. Thus, my Lord, you see the opinion of the inhabitants of this part of the world; and, as a seaman, I must own that the Port of Fort Royal and the Carenage is of more consequence to us, as a maritime power, than all the English islands put together, none of which have a harbour except Antigua, an island without wood and water, and whose harbour is very difficult of entrance, and only capable to receive a very few men of war, and none above sixty-four guns, and is an island at the northern extremity of the Caribbees, while Martinique is happily situated in the centre of the whole. Its harbour is capable to contain the fleet of Britain, extremely well wooded and watered, and can at all times send succours to any of our islands, who may be in danger from an enemy, and during the hurricane months, its carenage can contain a number of the largest ships of war, in perfect safety. I am sure at home the Administration know the importance of these islands; and I flatter myself your Lordship will only look upon this letter as wrote to a private friend,

for whom I shall ever retain the most sincere respect, 1762.
and whose valuable friendship I shall esteem as the greatest honour. Permit me, therefore, to assure your Lordship, that I am, with the utmost sincerity,

" Your Lordship's
" most obliged,
" and most obedient humble servant,
" G. R. RODNEY.

" P.S.—I beg my best respects to Admiral Smith.

" P.S.—I make no doubt but success has attended his Majesty's arms at the Havannah.

" Right Hon. Lord Lyttelton."

Rodney's expectation was justified. Early in September the news arrived of the conquest of the Havannah by the three brothers, Lord Albemarle, Commodore and Colonel Keppel. " Such a victory seemed (says Walpole) to infuse as little joy into the Court of St. James's as into that of Madrid." And in truth no victories would have deterred Lord Bute and the Court from making peace; it was an object which had but one rival in their affections, that of freeing themselves from the controul of the Whig aristocracy. The Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire had been driven out, Fox brought in, and Bute become first Lord of the Treasury. " The conquest of the Havannah (wrote Mr. Burke in 1769) was achieved by the highest conduct, aided by circumstances of the greatest good fortune. He knows the expence both of men and treasure at which we bought that place. However, if

1762. it had so pleased the peace-makers, it was no dear purchase, for it was decisive of the war and the terms of the treaty; the Duke of Nivernois thought so. France, England, Europe considered it in that light—all the world except the then friends of the then ministry, who wept for our victories, and were in haste to get rid of the burthen of our conquests."

The peace so much desired by this faction was concluded before the close of the year. And, however inadequate its terms might be to what the position of Great Britain entitled her to demand, the Peace of Paris was not inglorious to her. It accomplished the original purposes of the war; its capital error, according to Mr. Burke, was the omission to take any security, that "the Spanish monarchy was not melted down into the cabinet of Versailles." According to Mr. Pitt, the permission accorded to the French with respect to the American Fisheries, and the abandonment of the King of Prussia, were the darkest blots upon this treaty. A few months before this event, Lyttelton's old leader, Lord Bath, published a pamphlet,* attacking the Duke of Newcastle, and vindicating the admission of the Tories to power. He now wrote to Lyttelton as follows:—

"August 26th, 1762.

"My Lord,

"I am much obliged to your Lordship for your letter and the good news it brought, though it be nothing more than report and ship news; yet from the many particulars mentioned, I hope it may be true. I think

* Entitled, "Seasonable Hints from an honest man on the present crisis."

the terms of the Peace are now pretty generally known, 1762.
and I perceive they give satisfaction to most people here; some few indeed grumble that any part of the fishing is allowed France, but every sensible man in England is convinced that she would not have consented to peace without some share of it; but while Halifax is ours, and that we maintain our superiority at sea, that portion of the fishery we allow them will always be in our power, or help to keep them in awe, or to take from them, if they give us any real offence. I am glad to hear that your health is so well established; travelling about (as you have done) has been of great service to you. The waters here have been of use to me, though I use them very ungratefully, and shall quit them much sooner than I did last year, and yet I am afraid I shall not be in town time enough to see you before you go to Sandleford, nor be able to get there till you have left it. When you go to Lord Hardwicke's be so good as to assure him of my respects. I hope we may all meet well together in winter, have an easy session in Parliament, and be in perfect good humour, congratulating each other on the happy event of the birth of the Prince of Wales, and joining together without the least acrimony, to look into abuses, and think of some scheme for reducing the monstrous national debt.

"I am most truly and faithfully,

"your Lordsdip's most humble

"and obedient servant,

"BATH.

"Tunbridge, Aug. 28th, 1762."

On the 2nd of December Lyttelton wrote to his brother

1763. "We have got *peace abroad*, and I think, on the whole, a *good one;* but things seem to tend to *war at home*, which will do not less harm than if it had broken out before we had *peace abroad*. For my own part, I am more a spectator than an actor in the new political scene."

After the Duke of Newcastle's dismission, the great Whig families, headed by the Duke of Cumberland, began to form a powerful opposition to the government of Lord Bute; they presented a phalanx which the favourite vainly endeavoured to corrupt or divide: meanwhile, three millions and a half were required for the supplies; and blind to the fate of Walpole, Lord Bute introduced a tax on Perry and Cider, extending the regulations of the excise to the collection of this duty. It was a fatal error,—the country petitioned, and Pitt thundered in his most awful tones against it; the House of Lords for the first time divided upon a money bill; Lord Hardwicke made his last speech against this measure, and was supported by a minority, respectable for its numbers, and formidable for its influence. Lyttelton spoke so well against it on the second and third reading as to extort the praise of Walpole.*

On the 19th of April, soon after the passing of this obnoxious measure, Lord Bute amazed the political world by his resignation. "Single (he said) in a cabinet of my own forming, no aid in the House of Lords to support me except two Peers, (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret,) both the Secretaries of State silent, and the Lord Chief Justice, whom I myself brought into office voting for me, yet speaking against me; the

* The act was partially repealed in 1766.

ground I tread upon is so hollow, that I am afraid, not 1763.
only of falling myself, but of involving my Royal Master in my fall. It is time for me to retire."

It is said, that except in the ministerial changes more immediately consequent on his resignation, he never afterwards exerted any influence in political affairs. The reverse was generally believed at the time. The balance of evidence seems in favour of his having intrigued for some years, at least, after his resignation; but be this as it may, the system which he helped to form, and which was fraught with so much evil to this country continued long after this time. This system of a *double cabinet*, which appears to have been originally framed in the Court of Frederic Prince of Wales, was probably devised as one method of carrying into execution the theory of "The Patriot King," viz.: of governing without the aid of any party in the State. This plan of *separating the court from the administration*, of carrying everything from national connexion to personal regards, and of forming a regular party for that purpose, under the title of *King's men*—this *system of favouritism* "formed on a supposition that the King is something external to his Government, and that he may be honoured and aggrandised even by its debility and disgrace," has been embalmed for the warning of posterity in Burke's admirable "Thoughts on the cause of the present Discontents," from which the foregoing expressions are taken. "Thus for the time (he says) were pulled down in the persons of the Whig leaders and of Mr. Pitt, in spite of the services of the one at the accession of the

1763. Royal Family, and the recent services of the other in the war, the *two only securities for the importance of the people; power arising from popularity; and power arising from connexion.*" On the resignation of Lord Bute, Fox, ejected from the pay office, was created Lord Holland, Mr. Grenville became first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer,* his brother-in-law and Lyttelton's friend, Lord Egremont, and Lord Halifax, Secretaries of State. Soon† afterwards occurred the well known affair of Wilkes' 45th number of the North Briton, which brought into question the legality of General Warrants. Both this matter and the sudden death of Lord Egremont, whose abilities were considerable, enfeebled the government. Mr. Grenville wrote to Lyttelton.

"My Lord,

"The concern which you so kindly express for us upon the great misfortune which we have sustained in the death of Lord Egremont, demands our warmest and sincerest thanks. The blow was indeed a severe one, and particularly to those who were connected with

* Fox having, according to Walpole, refused to accept them.

† "Parties awoke again, one hardly knows how or why, and their struggle during the early part of the reign of George the Third, was of such a character, that after studying it attentively, we turn from it as from a portion of history equally anomalous and disagreeable. Yet its uninstructiveness in one season is instructive in another: and I will venture to call your attention to that period in which the most prominent names—alas! for the degraded state of English party—are those of John Wilkes and Junius."—Arnold's Lectures in Modern History, i. 7.

him in friendship and in alliance. The high regard and the real affection which he bore to you, must, I know, make his loss very sensibly felt by your Lordship. Every circumstance both public and private concur to make it lamented by me. Lady Egremont continues tolerably well. My wife has been extremely ill since this melancholy event, but is now I hope in a fair way to get well again. I will not omitt to inform Lord Thomond of your obliging attention to him upon this unhappy occasion." 1763.

No long time after this event Mr. Grenville, paying a visit to Buckingham House, was startled at finding Mr. Pitt's gouty chair, (the boot of which, he used to say, was as well known as if his name was written upon it) at the door of the palace. This abortive intrigue of Lord Bute to subvert a minister, whom he could not make his passive instrument, was defeated, partly perhaps by the haughtiness of Pitt, but chiefly by the narrow-minded obstinacy of the King,—though the former declared if examined upon oath, he could not tell upon what point the negotiation had broken off. Some account of it is to be found in the following letter:—

"Hagley Park, September 27th, 1763.

"My dear Governour,

"Lieutenant Parry, who brings you this, is the son of the parson of Clent, and I hear has behaved himself very well in the service. He desires me to recommend him to your favour and countenance while

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1763. he continues at Jamaica. Since my last I have received your despatch relating to the affairs of your government, which I shall make a proper use of when it may be of any service, and a charming letter from the fair Governess, for which I desire you to return her my most hearty thanks. I have also your letter of the 1st of June notifying your having sent me a pipe of Madeira, for which I am much obliged to you, but it is not yet received. The books you mention are come, and the last post brought me an account of three turtles, with which I have made three epicures happy. The only private news I have to tell you since my last letter is, that as the difficulty of making settlements till my son is of age renders it impossible for him to marry Miss Warburton before that time, I have consented to Sir Richard's desire of sending him abroad for a twelvemonth, the expense of his travelling being borne by Sir Richard. He is just setting out from France to go to Italy, and I hope next summer to come to him at Florence and make with him the tour of the Milanese part of Germany, and all Switzerland by the end of October.

" As for our public affairs, they are in great confusion, Lord Egremont is dead: a crude attempt has been made by Lord Bute to bring in Mr. Pitt, and some of the heads of the opposition. Pitt had a conference with the King, but in talking over the system, Pitt's demands were thought too high and rejected. The Duke of Bedford has been since made President of the Council; Lord Egmont First Commissioner of the Admiralty; Lord Hillsborough First Lord of Trade,

in the room of Lord Shelburne who has resigned; 1763.
Lord Hallifax and G. Grenville continue in their offices, though the negotiation with Pitt was opened by Lord Bute without their participation, and they are thought to be on very bad terms with his Lordship. This state of things does not seem made for duration, and some suppose that Lord Holland, who is coming back into England will in effect be first minister. In the meanwhile the French, seeing the weakness of our Government, do not execute some important articles of the Peace. A new war is apprehended with France and Spain: we have one with the Indians in North America —our stocks fall very low—the people are full of discontent—and everything seems to tend to distraction and ruin. My best comfort is, I have done all that was in my power to endeavour to strengthen the Government at this critical time, and believe that if others had acted with the same temper and moderation, (I will not say with the same prudence), things might have had a better issue. Lord Egremont's death was one of those strokes which no prudence can remedy, and I feel it painfully, both on publick and private accounts. If the Government settles in the hands it seems going into, I will have nothing to do with it, which is all I can say at present. My most affectionate compliments to the Governess, and believe me ever,

"Your most affectionate brother,

"LYTTELTON.

"I suppose you have heard from other hands of Dr. Ayscough's* death. He has left ten thousand

* Vide pp. 29, 440, 1, 2.

1763. pounds to his wife and at her death to his children. It is hoped she will have a pension.

"Sir Richard is in England and in good health."

The next letter is from Lord Hardwicke's eldest son to Lyttelton.

"Wrest, Sept. the 13th, 1763.

"My Lord,

"The hospitable, polite, and easy reception which I met with at Hagley, has left too agreeable an impression upon my mind, not to make it almost a point of social obligation, to return your Lordship my particular acknowledgments for it, and to accompany them likewise with Lady Grey's.*

"We returned hither from our travels the 1st inst. having seen everything we proposed in our journey, and been particularly lucky in weather at Chatsworth. We were likewise witnesses there to the remarkable incident, of the express from the *Great Commoner* which carried his Grace up in such haste to town. The conveyance I write by does not allow me to enter far into the late extraordinary transaction, some parts of which I really do not comprehend, but this I will venture to say, that it appears in its original plan, to have been intended as a *counterpart* to what your Lordship was acquainted with not long ago, and consequently on too

* Lord Royston married Jemima Marchioness Grey, and Baroness Lucas of Crudwell, only daughter of John third Earl of Breadalbane, by Amabel de Grey, eldest daughter and coheiress of Henry de Grey, third and last Duke of Kent.

narrow a bottom to be attended with success. I am 1763.
inclined to think that disgust was taken at some particulars which were urged in a *certain audience*, and the manner might likewise displease,—though certainly nothing of that kind was intended. The going too far at first setting out, is not the way which should be taken in Courts, where unfavourable impressions must be removed before the foundations are laid for a new superstructure. The consequences, however, of this abortive attempt seem to shut the door more than ever against union and reconciliation; and of course your Lordship and myself have a bustling and disagreeable winter to expect. The *person* who set this overture on foot, seems to have disobliged all sides; his own, by not concerting it with them, the others, by not carrying it through when it was begun.

"I must not forget Lady Grey's compliments to Miss Lyttelton, nor my own to Mr. Lyttelton, if he is now at Hagley.

"I am, with the greatest respect,
"your Lordship's most faithful
"humble servant,
"ROYSTON.

"P.S.—I had the pleasure to leave Lord Hardwicke well at his place yesterday morning. He desired to be remembered to your Lordship."

Lyttelton's answer to Lord Royston was as follows:—

"Hagley, September 19, 1763.

"MY LORD,

"I AM glad the weather was so fine to shew you

1763. Chatsworth. The express from *the Great Commoner*, which his Grace received while you were there, must have surprised you as much as the first account of it did me. I should have thought he would have been the last, instead of the first, with whom *the great Lord* would have treated: but he loves to make short turns, and, I presume, was apprehensive of others going before him. In my humble opinion his Lordship judged very ill, for perhaps there never was an opening of a negociation, in which a prudent mediator would have been of more service. I entirely agree with your Lordship's judgment, that the going too far at first setting out is not the way which should be taken in courts, when unfavourable impressions must be removed before the foundations are laid for a new superstructure. My old friend was once a skilful courtier; but since he himself has attained a kind of *royalty*, he seems more attentive to support his own majesty than to pay the necessary regards to that of his Sovereign. The consequences of this error will be mischievous to the publick, and very unpleasant to those who wish to see it served in this difficult and critical time, by a union of all who can conciliate to the government the affection and confidence of the nation. Till *that* is done things will go on from bad to worse; but *that* cannot be done till the King himself is convinced, by a gentle and temperate language, that nothing is desired but his service.

"I don't wonder at what your Lordship tells me of the hurt that the first mover of this crude negociation has done himself with both parties. But I much wonder how those whom he left out of his secret in so important

a transaction can still continue ministers, or imagine to themselves any safety in the new system !" 1763.

"Thus (says Walpole), from a strange concurrence of jarring causes, there sprang out of great weakness a strong and cemented Ministry, who all acquiesced in the predominant power of Grenville.* The favourite hated had tried to shake him off, and he knew it."

In November the Commons resolved number 45 of the North Briton to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They then resolved that the privilege of Parliament did not extend to the writing and printing seditious libels. A severe debate ensued in both Houses. In the Commons, Pitt though pronouncing the writer to be "the blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his King," reprobated in his severest style the facility with which the House surrendered its privileges. In the Lords (where Wilkes had been previously attacked for a blasphemous, obscene, and stupid Essay on Woman,) an animated debate took place. Lyttelton spoke with great earnestness and considerable ability. It is the only speech preserved of

* "If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself not by the low pimping politics of a Court, but to win his way to power through the laborious gradation of public service; and to secure himself a well-earned seat in Parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its constitution, and a perfect practice in all its business." This is part of Mr. Burke's celebrated character of Mr. Grenville, certainly not drawn by a hand disposed to flatter in this, if in any, instance.—Speech on American Taxation.

1763. the debate in the Lords.* During the course of it he observed, "There are two advantages upon which our public welfare and strength particularly depend, both of which these wicked libellers have most diligently and maliciously laboured to destroy; I mean the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and that extinction of party spirit, the bane of all public spirit, I say my Lords, that extinction of party spirit, which crowned with happiness and with glory the latter years of our late most gracious Sovereign, and the beginning of his present Majesty's most auspicious, most benignant, and most prosperous reign. Of these inestimable blessings these execrable writings have attempted to deprive us: they have breathed a spirit of discord, which, if great care be not taken to stop the farther progress of it, will avenge the enemies of this country of all the evils they have suffered from that invincible force and energy, which a very different spirit, a spirit of union and concord, enabled us to exert. What can be more injurious, more fatal to our happiness than weekly and daily libels sent all over the kingdom, which have a strong and manifest tendency to break those ties of mutual interest and mutual affection, which bind and knit us together; and to raise animosities, jealousies, deadly feuds, and civil wars between the two nations? If the detected authors of such writings, by being members of Parliament, a circumstance which in reality much enhances their guilt, may go on with full security, in open defiance of all law and legal authority, to inflame the wounds they have made, to infuse into them new venom, till they be rendered incurable; if this indeed be English liberty,

* It is printed in Vol. 3 of Lyttelton's Works.

then, I am sure, our constitution will be *felo de se*, and wants no enemy but itself to bring itself to destruction." 1764.

"Upon the whole, I am confident your Lordships will on no account depart from that maxim, which is the corner stone of all government! that justice should have its course without stop or impediment.

"'Jus, fas, lex, potentissima sint.' This, my lords, is the very soul and essence of freedom. Obstruct this, and you immediately open a door to all violence and confusion, to all the iniquity and all the cruelties of private revenge, to the destruction of private peace, the dissolution of public order, and in the end to an unlimited and despotic authority, which we must be forced to submit to as a remedy against such intolerable evils. The dominion of law is the dominion of liberty. Privilege against law, in matters of high concernment to the public, is oppression, is tyranny, wheresoever it exists."

The opinion of a very intelligent bystander at this debate, to whom I have before referred, is thus expressed in a letter to his friend:—

"I suppose I need not tell you that the present Ministry have a great majority in the House of Commons. When a motion was made in the House of Lords that Privilege of Parliament shall not extend to the authors of seditious libels, Lord Mansfield, very late at night, made a speech which lasted two hours, and spoke so well that the persons present would have been content to have heard him two hours longer. Lord

1764. Lyttelton spoke on the same side extremely well, and the motion was carried by a majority of 114 to 35." *

Lyttelton also spoke on the question of the riots which took place at the burning of Wilkes' book.

In February the following year, the House of Commons had a great and long debate on the illegality of General Warrants, and it was only by a majority of fourteen that the ministry carried the adjournment of the question for four months. On the last day of this debate, Lyttelton, seconded by the Duke of Grafton, acquainted the Lords, that on the following Tuesday he should lay a complaint before them against a new book (a sort of revived Filmer), called *Droit le Roi.* On the 21st he moved for a censure on the book as Jacobitical, violating the Bill of Rights, and the Revolution; and reproved ministers who, falling severely on seditious pamphlets, had yet overlooked one subversive of all liberty. The book was sentenced to be burnt and the author ordered to be taken into custody.

On the 16th Lyttelton wrote to "the Governor."

"The political world is still in a good deal of ferment, and I will not pretend to prophesy into what state it will subside. I have at present little intercourse with any of the ministry, though I lately spoke for them with much zeal and more than usual applause, on the question concerning privilege in criminal cases. But I think I shall differ from them through the rest of the session. This conduct you will think does not lead to preferment. I think so too, but considerations superior to interest have determined me to it; and I am paid

* See Nicholls' Lit. Anec. vol. 8, 238-48.

for it, not only by the approbation of my own conscience, 1764.
but by the impressions I find it has made in my favour among the wiser and better part of the court and country. At the same time I discharged my debt of gratitude to Scotland, for the great kindness shewn me there, by expressing a just detestation of the scurrilous libels against that nation, which nobody else had animadverted upon with a proper resentment in either House. I believe I may hope from the sensibility of the Scotch to their national honour, that this zeal of mine in their cause will not be easily or soon forgotten. Of the King's gracious acceptance of my endeavours to serve him on this and other occasions, in the course of the last year, I have had all the marks I can desire. So much for politicks." * * * * * *

General Conway voted against ministers on the question of the legality of General Warrants, and was immediately dismissed from his Lordship of the Bedchamber, and his command of a regiment of Dragoons. This severe, impolitic, and unjust act, greatly injured the administration. Conway's character was fair, his talents good, his friends many and powerful, and one of them, Horace Walpole, was delighted to concentrate the mischief and malignity of his nature upon the task of injuring Mr. Grenville. The Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, Lord Rockingham, Charles Townshend and Yorke, and a large body of Whigs were ready to form an opposition, but nothing could be done without Mr. Pitt, who stood aloof, angry with the ministers, affronted with the opposition; to reconcile the opposition with Mr. Pitt, for the sake of injuring Grenville

1764. and avenging Conway, was the darling object of Horace Walpole, whose powers of intrigue were considerable—to reconcile Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple with Mr. Grenville, to unite the brotherhood again, and with these to form a party against the Court faction and Lord Bute, with or without the aid of the Duke of Bedford's party, was the straightforward and honourable object of Lyttelton; for this he of course incurred the rancorous abuse of Walpole, who had vainly endeavoured to make him his tool. Lyttelton had lately been reconciled to Pitt and Temple, and entertained a sincere regard for Conway, upon whose conduct Pitt bestowed, according to Walpole, "civil applause," but refused to see him.

One of the most extraordinary persons of this period, but of whose talents we have scarcely any vestige, except the recorded admiration of his contemporaries was, to borrow Mr. Burke's expression, "that prodigy* Charles Townshend;" he was a younger son of the able and honest coadjutor of Walpole, (Viscount Townshend,)—his extreme political versatility, which

* See Burke's speech on American Taxation.—"In truth, Sir, he was the delight and ornament of this House, and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of a more pointed or finished wit, and (where his passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite and penetrating judgment. If he had not so great a stock, as some have had who have flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together within a short time all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate that side of the question he supported," &c. "He is the orator, (said Mr. Flood), the rest are speakers."

procured for him the nickname of the weathercock,* alone counteracted the influence of his brilliant abilities. 1764.

He wrote to Lyttelton as follows:—

"May 2, 1764.

"My dear Lord,

"I have the honour of sending you the copy you desired of my letter to the Duke of Newcastle, and I would have sent it sooner, if I had not thought it prudent to vary, and I hope improve the expressions in some of the most delicate parts of it. They will occur to your Lordship and perhaps have your approbation.

"I dined yesterday at Devonshire House, and, after the ladies had retired to coffee, conversation turned upon politics. I took the opportunity of asserting the necessity of union and immediate activity; union declaredly with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Yorke, and activity both in a summer and a winter plan. Mr. Conway and Mr. Walpole were present: the Duke made strong general professions; Mr. Conway seem'd to think with me, and Mr. Walpole went before me in many points, but no final issue; no plan, no positive answer as to great individuals, and the whole ended in indecision.

"I shall see Mr. Yorke this evening at eight o'clock, and I wish you may have had some previous conversation with him.

"Mr. Onslow and Mr. T. Townshend have been at Hayes, and they, as I hear, have represented Mr. Pitt as very angry upon the dismission of Mr. Conway, and

* One of the squibs in the newspapers of the day was, "We hear that the Right Hon. Charles Townshend is indisposed at his house in Oxfordshire, of a pain in his side, but it is not said in which side."

1764. very explicit in his opposition. They are young agents and may speak from their own wishes.

"On Friday I go to Claremont, it will be a day of some importance: much will depend upon Mr. Yorke's answer this evening, for, as to myself, if the general union be not *now* formed, and a consequential system adopted, I will despair, and shall abandon the ungrateful and hopeless office.

"I shall certainly not fail of giving your Lordship the earliest communication of whatever I learn, that is interesting, and am with the truest personal regard,

"My Lord,

"your affectionate humble servant,

"C. TOWNSHEND.

"Grosvenor Square, May 2, 1764."

The enclosed letter to the Duke of Newcastle was as follows:—

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I HAVE this evening the honour of your Grace's letter which is writ upon so many very interesting subjects that I am not able to resist the desire it has raised in me of speaking my sentiments fully to your Grace, though with the utmost deference.

"Your Grace's knowledge of the world and great experience in public business, necessarily make me distrust any opinion of mine from which you differ, yet upon further reflection, I have not found reason to change the idea I lately expressed to you, of the temper, character, and deadness of the time we live in. Recollect, my Lord, the ingratitude you yourself have

met with: the desertion of the majority of the Whigs: 1764.
the many great names and families who have abandoned all union from obligation and consanguinity upon the frivolous distinction of supporting the person of the King: the successful attack made upon the freedom of the press: the quiet reception of every act of violence offered to persons and to things: and the perfect state of tranquillity in the city and the counties which now seemingly take place under a ministry lately so odious and still so rash. Are not these proofs that the national temper is subdued—that opposition by so often deceiving has lost the power of raising confidence, and that indifference and distrust are become habitual and general? I wish any degree of spirit, care, or attention, were able to reform this error or to awaken men to a sense of danger, but I expect it not, and I should disguise if I did not frankly confess to you that I despair of any such revolution.

"Your Grace seems to regret that a stand was not made upon the unjustifiable treatment of our friend the Duke of Devonshire.* I had not at that time the honour of being in his Grace's confidence, and therefore know not what he himself wished, but certainly the gradual overthrow of the Whigs at court was too quietly submitted to in the several preliminary steps, and could never in my opinion have been completed, if it had been at first re-

* After the dismission of the Duke of Newcastle in 1762, the Duke of Devonshire, during the negotiation for the Peace, refusing to attend the Council board, was dismissed from the Lord Chamberlainship, and the King with his own hand erased his name from the list of Privy Councillors.

1764. sisted. Each separate personal injury, was, I fear, too far considered as an individual case, whereas if the very first attempt had been made a common cause, the defence of the whole would probably have been not difficult. I agree with your Grace that the minority, in defiance of all disadvantages, made the ministry and the crown look pale upon their numbers, in one part of the last session, and it is now said, perseverance and activity would have given success. Perhaps this may be true, but if it be, what was the sudden and secret cause which slackened their activity? Some impute it to jealousy, but to jealousy in whom, and of whom? others to inattention; these to disunion, and those to want of suitable and interesting questions of business. As to the visit to Cambridge,* I know how loudly I have been condemned for that absence; but, my Lord, such loose censure does not even dwell upon me, especially when it comes from men with whom I have acted *voluntarily*, not by compact; from opinion not obligation; and who have no right to circumscribe any one sentiment or direct any one action of my political conduct; in whose plans I had originally no participation, whose systems I am not bound to adopt, and to whom I stand in no sense or in any degree accountable. Let them distribute their

* Lord Hardwicke's death caused a vacancy in his High Stewardship of Cambridge. Lord Sandwich and Lord Hardwicke's son and successor were rival candidates for the office. The contest was waged with the keenest animosity. On the day of election the votes appeared to be equal, though each side claimed a majority of one. The King's Bench pronounced a decision in favour of Lord Hardwicke.

wild panegyric over their glass, as wine warms and prejudice dictates, I shall still, unmortified by their harmless disapprobation, be ever pleased with having obeyed your commands, and endeavoured at least to assist my friend Lord Hardwicke and his family at Cambridge. I say this as often as I hear it, which is almost every day, from some of our most zealous friends, who continually speak of this event either in direct terms of blame or by insinuations which are more offensive. 1764.

"The Duke of Devonshire and Lord Rockingham have done me the honour of dining with me this day, but we were not alone, and our conversation was at large. Your Grace hoped something would have been settled, and you see the necessity of a summer plan preparatory to the winter. I have said this, but my idea goes further, and you will forgive me if in this critical minute, perhaps the last of deliberation, I should open my mind freely; in the language of a man that would bring things to decision; and who being at liberty to act as his judgment advises, waits for the communication of such a systematical and probable plan as may induce and justify those who shall again embark.

"For myself, I am of opinion, my Lord, that the minority should be strengthened, if it can *be done upon proper terms*, by a connection with Lord Bute or with Lord Holland, or by the reconciliation of Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt with Mr. Grenville; because I think the party in the House of Lords is weak, in the Court odious, and in itself not sufficient for success; at least with this parliament, when there is only one court, so young a king, and at the close of an unpopular war,

1764. and in an age of extravagance, indigence, immorality, and indifference.

"I presume not to enter into the reciprocal aversions and late sentiments which may be considered under this head: too new in the confidence of your Grace; unaccustomed to hear the sentiments of my friend the Duke of Devonshire upon topics so near to him, and too much a stranger to the voice of the Duke of Cumberland, to approach so delicate a subject; I only express my wish, and presume to suggest what I think expedient and necessary to give opposition force.

"Could both of the former of these be done, or could the family reconciliation be accomplished, the next thing would be to review the minority, and allot to particular men their separate departments in speaking to individuals; from which revisal and explanation it would be learnt how far late inactivity has lessened numbers; what may be hoped from another trial and what assistance is requisite.

"To gain upon the minds of the people, a daily paper, upon the plan of one of the present prints, should be set up and circulated diligently but quietly; and two good pens should be employed to write from materials suggested by men of knowledge, and subject to their inspection. Some leading men in each town through the several counties should be admitted to confidence, and be persuaded to give their clubs and districts the tone of conversation recommended from hence.

"A Committee should be appointed to consider and prepare heads of business for the next winter; and in one word, the kingdom should be kept warm and the

chiefs attentive and laborious during the recess. Sir William Baker should be desired to put the city in motion, both as an example to other counties, and as an attack nearest home. 1764.

"Your Grace will perhaps say that this is mighty well; but reconciliations with Lord Bute and Lord Holland, and the restoring of harmony between warm and alienated relations are all impossible; and I shall believe it upon your testimony; presuming only to add, that if that be the case, I should apprehend the minority unable, as it now stands, to break the ministry, unwilling to accept the only allies useful and necessary, and itself composed of parts not perfectly united may possibly not much advance, in another session, weakened by the conclusion of the last, perhaps lessened in numbers certainly in public opinion: no General Warrants to arraign; no extraordinary measures, and no ground of debate, but the army, the navy, and the several disputable speculations which may occur about the state of the debt and the condition of public credit.

"I must again beg pardon for taking up so much of your time, but my mind is full both of matter and anxiety. I could not resist the impression, and it is perhaps right I should take an opportunity of saying not only what, but all I think, to your Grace.

"My view in doing it is honest, for I profess I wish to see decision and have long tried to enforce that doctrine. As things now stand the ministry are strong. The minority not in strength or reputation: Lord Bute forced to keep a neutrality at least; and the public grow familiarised to an administration they see so little opposed. Mr. Legge, I fear, will not recover.

1764. Mr. Pitt seems withdrawn into himself, and retired to his family and amusements. Other men act as they did, seldom seen and inexplicit, while the Ministry diligently pick up individuals every day, who see no other prospect, nor hear of any other union. For my own part, I prefer, it is evident, the characters, claims, and interests of those I have voluntarily supported, to those of all other men, and if any hope should remain of success, there is no situation or advantage I would not risque or sacrifice. But, my Lord, it must be a reasonable hope of success, resulting from union, plan, activity and strength. I am far from being in a condition to make even this prudent, after my family disappointments, and the little favour I have ever met with from former administrations, but there is nothing I would not do to support those I prefer, upon a system which has in it any evidence of real concert, consistent plan, and the solid grounds of strength.

"I have now suggested the means which have occurred to me, but I am as open to consider any other, and only dread the loss of more time in more broken consultations, imperfect plans, and undecisive seasons. Let me add that the generous manner in which Mr. Pitt behaved to the whole party last year, his name, his weight, his talents, all make his concurrence a necessary part of any union, and I should very much fear any plan would be found ineffectual which had not both the lustre of Mr. Pitt's accession to it, and the declared and active support of Lord Hardwicke's family, few men in the country being equal to Mr. Yorke in that importance, which, thank God, still results from abilities, integrity, and independence."

It will be remembered,* that in the early part of his life Pitt had received the unexpected legacy of £10,000 from the old Duchess of Marlborough. Early in 1765, Sir William Pynsent, a Somersetshire baronet, died and left his whole fortune (in real and personal estates said to be worth at that time above £40,000,) to Pitt, to whom he was in no ways related and whom he had never seen. Admiration for Pitt's general public conduct, but especially for his opposition to the legality of General Warrants, seems to have been the cause of the bequest. 1765.

"Fortune, (Lyttelton wrote to his restored friend) "comes to you in the only manner in which you would give her a hearty welcome; she is brought by virtue, and attended by honour. I most heartily congratulate Lady Chatham, Miss Pitt, and your young family on the agreeable method Sir William Pynsent has found of expressing the sense of the public, and what is at this time the best act of patriotism, helping to pay the public debt."

On the 7th of February Mr. Grenville brought forward his fifty-five resolutions, afterwards incorporated into an Act of Parliament, for laying nearly the same stamp duties on the colonies in America as were payable in England.

They were carried by a majority of 245 against 49, and scarcely noticed by the opposition except by a very eloquent invective of Colonel Barré, which is the only fragment of the debate preserved. That he inveighed against it seems certain, but that he uttered at

* See above, p. 233.

1765. the time the invective ascribed to him, seems doubtful. Burke, who sat under the gallery, said, that he "never heard a more languid debate." It is well said by Walpole (in the recently published memoirs of George the Third) with reference to this memorable Stamp Act—"It removed the burden of a tax to distant shoulders and the most momentous acts are seldom much discussed when no immediate interest occurs to oppose them." Probably Mr. Grenville's Act only hastened the inevitable tendency of these colonies to emancipation from the mother country, they had been long overlooked and neglected, and the recent conquest of Canada, freeing them from the apprehension of French aggression, rendered British protection no longer necessary.

It is a curious trait of Walpole that he shrunk with instinctive sagacity from the suggestion that he might derive a revenue from taxing these colonies.

Lyttelton wrote to the Governor on new year's day.

"London, Jan. 1, 1765.

"I am much pleased with the conversation of your friend, Mr. Ford, especially as I learn so authentically from him into how good a state you have brought the affairs of your government. I find you are now as popular in Jamaica as you were in Carolina; a great atchievement, my dear brother, considering the tempers you had to deal with, and their long habits of anarchy and insolence to their governors! The subduing faction *there* is an exploit as much harder than your triumph over it in Carolina, as the labour of Hercules in

subduing the Hydra was beyond his killing the snakes 1765.
that attackt him in his cradle. I congratulate you on your victory and the happy peace that has followed it, which I heartily wish may be lasting. After you have enjoyed it some time, you shall come over to England and teach our ministry here, who want a little teaching the art of suppressing faction, and establishing tranquillity. Since I wrote last no alteration has taken place in the political scene, except that Mr. Charles Yorke has accepted of a patent of precedence between the Attorney and Solicitor-General, that he might shew a willingness to receive a favour from the King, and go on more agreeably in the line of his profession. He did not choose to be Attorney-General again, as he was much pressed to be: but took this feather instead of it, for which he is much blamed by those against the Court, and not much praised by the Court. Time will shew whether he is nearer by it to any great object. As for me, I am just in *statu quo*, and had rather remain so, till I see such measures taken as I think will strengthen this country, both at home and abroad, much more than the present system appears to me to do it, in this perilous crisis.

" My son is in France, where I believe he will stay till about the beginning of April. His match is off. If you ask the reason, I can give it you in no better words than those of Rochefoucault, who says that, " *une femme est un benefice qui oblige a la residence.*" A happy new year and many, to you and yours, my dear Governor. I have the pleasure to hear my lady governess as much praised as you for the good example

1765. she sets to the ladies of Jamaica, in all domestic virtues and for the amiableness of her behaviour, which makes her a useful helpmate to you in your government. God bless you both, and your several little ones, whom I long to see and to love. I am, ever most cordially,

" your very affectionate brother,

" LYTTELTON."

The Session had not far advanced before the King was attacked by an alarming illness, the precursor of that which clouded the latter years of his life, though believed at the time to be of a consumptive character. In his next letter* to his brother, Lyttelton wishes him joy on the birth of a son, laments the dissipation, extravagance, and gaming of his own son in Italy; consoling himself, however, by remarking, that " by his letters it appears that there is a great energy and force in his understanding; and as his faults are only those of most of our young travellers, I hope his return into England and cool reflection on the mischief of his past follies will enable his reason to get the better of any recent ill habits contracted by him abroad, and that the natural goodness of his heart will give a right turn to the vivacity of his passions. But I need not tell you that anxiety for fear it should happen otherwise, has taken away much of the pleasure of my life. However my health remains (God be thanked) pretty good, and when I compare it with that of other men of my age, I find no cause to complain. * * *

" I have heard with surprize of the late extravagant behaviour of your Jamaica Assembly, which has

* Written March 11.

disturbed the good harmony that seemed before so well established between your Excellency and them; but I can have the pleasure to assure you that all their countrymen here, Beckford, Fuller, &c. are clearly against them and approve of your conduct; so I hope that the receipt of letters from England will bring them to their senses. 1765.

"No alteration has happened in the political world since I wrote to you last, but God be praised, the King, who has been very ill of a fever and inflammation of the lungs, is now well recovered. His health is not so firm as the great importance of it to the nation would make one wish it to be; but it may be hoped that the ill effects he has lately experienced from colds will produce more caution for the future." * * *

The King, immediately on his recovery, compelled his Ministers to introduce into Parliament a Regency Bill, which was to vest in him the power of appointing from time to time, by instruments under his sign manual, either the Queen or any other person of the royal family usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of his successor, and Regent of the kingdom, until such successor should attain the age of eighteen years, subject to the like restrictions. In an act passed in the twenty-fourth year of George the Second, a power had been granted to the late King to add, by his will, four persons to the Regent's Council; but to grant the secret nomination of the Regent himself, was a great additional concession to the Crown.

As no speech of the debate in the House of Lords on this important constitutional question has ever

1765. been printed, I am tempted to insert in this place the arguments urged by Lyttelton on this occasion; they are printed from the MSS. in his own handwriting.

"My Lords,

"It is with the utmost reluctance, and the deepest concern I ever felt in the discharge of any publick duty, that I find myself obliged to express to your Lordships my disapprobation of one very material part of this Bill, which is now under your consideration. I do not object to the principle of the Bill. On the contrary, it appears to me a fresh instance of his Majesty's royal goodness and tender care of the publick, that he has called upon us to make an early provision, as much as possible to alleviate the greatest misfortune that might befall his Royall family or the people he governs. God be thankt that his age, and the present state of his health, render it very improbable that such a misfortune should happen: but the chance of a Minority is a natural evil, incident to all kingdoms; and how to guard against the dangers, which always threaten a state in that situation, so far as human prudence can guard against them, by wise and timely precautions, is a capital object of policy, the neglect of which, or not doing it in a proper manner, which may be worse than neglect, has been fatal to nations. My Lords, in taking such precautions, the first and greatest care of a wise government ought to be, that it may be done in a manner conformable to the spirit and general principles of the Constitution. This indeed is a requisite without which nothing salutary, nothing good can be done; and in this requisite I must think this Bill defective.

"My Lords, the main pillar, the corner house, upon which the whole system of our Government rests, is this great maxim, that in all matters of high concernment to the general weal of the kingdom, not belonging to any branch of the Royall prerogative, the will of the Sovereign does not act alone, but in conjunction with the opinion and advice of his Parliament. This, I say, is the basis of our whole Constitution: and so far shall we depart from it, if this Bill should pass, that in a point of the highest moment to the safety of the publick—nothing less than a delegation of the Royall authority, possibly for a long time,—no advice can be given, no opinion or judgment can be formed by the Parliament, because no knowledge is or will be vouchsafed to them, into what hands the King will committ that authority, and another trust, very nearly of equal importance, the guardianship of the successor. He is empowered by this Bill to confer both these trusts, either on the Queen, or any other person of the Royall family usually residing in Great Britain, according to his own secret pleasure, uncommunicated to Parliament, and changeable as often as he shall think proper. 1765.

"My Lords, I am as sensible as any Lord in this House, that no Prince has ever merited the confidence of his people in a higher degree, or would make a better use of it in its utmost extent, than our present gracious Sovereign. It is my desire to put all trust in his Majesty, which the Constitution has put in any King: but *that* must be the limitation of our confidence in this House: otherwise, where would it stop?

1765. If our opinion of his virtues were to be the measure of it, it would be unbounded: but it must have those bounds the Constitution prescribes: for the virtues of a King die with him; but the liberty of this nation will, I hope, be immortal.

"My Lords, I beg to know on what precedent this concession is founded. In all the annals of our history I can find nothing like it, nothing in the least approaching towards it, except, perhaps, in one reign, which I have too much respect for the present Government, and for the present Legislature, even to name to your Lordships as an authority or example. In the first message that preceded the last Regency Bill (the best precedent that we can look to), the King named to his Parliament a Regent of the kingdom and guardian to his successor, which nomination was received with universal satisfaction. But how can the people be satisfied with a settlement, which leaves their greatest interests under the greatest uncertainty? Or what foundation can it be for publick tranquillity, that, to take care of the Royall family, to take care of the nation in the most perilous circumstances, somebody will be appointed, but no man can tell who?

"If His Majesty had been pleased to nominate at this time a Regent and a guardian, as his Royall grandfather did, with what respect the authority of that nomination would have been received by his Parliament, I need not say. A choice made by him would incontestibly be the choice of his perfect understanding: but there is a time when human wisdom yields to human infirmity; when nature sinks on a deathbed: and we are desired by a most unaccountable

policy to give our consent, that acts of the highest im- 1765.
portance to the safety of the State may finally be determined in that hour of weakness, without even a possibility of any assistance from the wisdom of Parliament, which can no more be consulted, with relation to this matter, after this Bill has been past.

" My Lords, this is a great deviation from the plan of policy laid down in the last Regency Bill; a plan formed by the greatest Lawyer and one of the wisest Statesmen that ever sat in this House, not merely to answer a present expediency, but as establishing principles proper and right in all times, when the state of the Royall family would allow them to be followed. In that Bill a just regard was decently and prudently paid to the honour of Parliament: we were not compelled to act *blindfold:* we saw, we approved, we confirmed. Now we are required to approve and confirm without seeing: we are required to give up to one part of the Legislature the power of the whole: we are required to forget that the Crown called us hither as the Great Council of the nation, to consult and to deliberate on the arduous affairs of the kingdom, not to vest in the King alone that discretion and that judgment, which the Constitution of our country has committed to us in conjunction with him.

" My Lords, to what end is this done? If a Regent and guardian, nominated by the King and confirmed by the Parliament, should happen to die before him, what difficulty would there be in His Majesty's coming again to his Parliament and nominating another? Are we afraid that the good affection between him and his Parliament should be lessened by time? I hope it

1765. will be increased; I trust in his royall virtues and the grateful loyalty of his people that it will never diminish: but I must say that the advisers of this extraordinary measure have not taken the best method to promote or maintain it.

" Need I shew to your Lordships the danger of the precedent you are going to establish? Unconstitutional powers once given can never again be resumed. They are given at first to the most deserving of Princes: they will be afterwards claimed by the most undeserving; and the better the times are when the precedent is made, the more irresistible will it be.

" Reflect, my Lords, upon the nature and extent of this power. Reflect, that the providing for the safety of the State, in the exigence of a Minority, by a proper choice of a Regent, is a right so constitutionally inherent in Parliament, that, after the decease of King Henry the Fifth, they did not scruple to exercise it in direct contradiction to an appointment of the King; that appointment having been made without their knowledge; though made by a Prince the most beloved and respected, and in favour of another very popular in the nation. Indeed, my Lords, next to the appointment of a successor, the greatest power that can be exercised by King and Parliament joined, is the appointing of a Regent: nor is there any other in which the interest of the people is so deeply concerned; or in which their representatives, and your Lordships, whose interests are inseparable from their's, are bound to proceed with a more perfect knowledge, or with a more deliberate caution.

" Upon the whole, I am satisfied, that it would be

a less evil not to make any settlement of a Regency now, upon the distant prospect of a contingency which I trust in God will not happen, than to do it in this manner, which is in reality unsettling the whole Constitution. It is desiring the Parliament to put out their own eyes where they ought to see clearest: it is making a precedent so injurious to the dignity of the peerage and both Houses of Parliament, that it must lessen the estimation of them in the thoughts of all Europe: and it may be introductive of much confusion and discord, instead of answering the good end which His Majesty has in view, the establishing of universal concord and union, which are the best guards to the Throne and to the happiness of a people in the infancy of a King. Could I possibly see this Bill, as it is modelled at present, in a different light; could I believe that it tended in any degree to allay the fears of a nation if any accident should endanger His Majesty's health, or that it did not essentially hurt the Constitution, no man would be more zealous for it than I: but, seeing it as I do, I must violate my duty both to the King and the publick, if I did not declare my dislike of it, and beg your Lordships to consider, with your most serious thoughts, what the consequences may be of so unnecessarily making such a compliment to the Crown. At the same time I would use my utmost endeavours to reconcile that respect, which I feel for the motives and purposes of this Bill, with the principles upon which my opposition is founded; and to secure to the nation that benefit from it which I am persuaded His Majesty intends to give them; to which end I beg leave to make your Lordships the following motion:— 1765.

1765. "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, &c.

"I have no copy of this address; but the purport of it was to desire the King to name a Regent of the kingdom and guardian of the successor.

"It being objected that the proper time for considering this Address would be after the question for committing the Bill, and the debate upon the question having continued till the evening, the consideration of the Address was postponed till the next morning, when I opened the debate in the following words, (to the best of my recollection):—

"My Lords,

"After the candour and indulgence with which your Lordships were pleased to hear me yesterday on this subject, I will not trespass very long upon your patience to-day, but shall only beg leave to recall to your remembrance, on what principle the humble Address to His Majesty, which you are now to consider, is founded. That principle is, that the power of appointing a guardian of the successor and a Regent of the kingdom, in the case of a Minority, being of the highest importance to the safety of the State, and not belonging to any branch of the Royall prerogative, it ought not to be exercised by the King alone, but in conjunction with the opinion and advice of his Parliament; which opinion and advice the Parliament cannot give under a total uncertainty, on what person the inclination and choice of the King may conferr those arduous trusts. In the natural order of things, as well as by the practice established here, it belongs to the King to nominate such a guardian, to nomi-

nate such a Regent; and it belongs to the Parliament to give him faithfull counsel upon that nomination. Their respect for him will incline them to approve his choice; but their respect for themselves, and the duty they owe to their country, will forbid them to approve what they are no way informed of—will forbid them to judge and confirm without knowledge. It is the genius and principle of our Constitution, that all great acts of Government regarding the internal peace of the kingdom and the well-being of the people, should be open and manifest; not concealed in the obscurity and secresy of a closet, not hid under the cover of instruments sealed up, but publick, apparent, and solemn: to the intent that the Ministers and counsellors of the Crown may be responsible for it, if anything wrong should be done. There are some circumstances under which the best may err; but a wise King, who fixes the publick safety and felicity upon his own judgment assisted by that of his Parliament, fixes them on a rock; and whoever advises him, in a matter of great moment, to deprive himself of the benefit of that united wisdom, gives him bad counsel. 1765.

"It has been said indeed, that the power given by the Bill which was yesterday under your consideration, is nothing more than a trust committed to the King for the benefitt of his children: but allow me to say, it is a trust in which the nation is deeply concerned; and if the reasoning be just, that the tenderness of a father is sufficent security against any improper use of that trust, that reasoning, my Lords, will go very far. Whatever is good for the state is good for the successor; whatever hurts the state consequentially hurts him: shall, therefore, absolute power in all acts

1765. of state be committed to the King, upon a presumption that a father will do nothing to hurt the true interest of his child? Very different is the reasoning of the English Constitution—that Constitution supposes a King to be fallible, and not mpted from the influence of passions or of counsels. It supposes that the counsels to which he can best and most safely trust, are those of his Parliament. It requires him to consult and advise with his Parliament in all affairs of great consequence, not immediately belonging to his Royall prerogative. It trusts the Legislature and the Great Council of the kingdom with all the interests of the Kingdom; but it restrains them from committing that trust to the Crown.

"These, my Lords, are the foundations of the motion now under your consideration: a motion calculated, if possible, to produce unanimity in this important affair. There is nothing I so much desire to see as union in the Royall family, and union in the Kingdom. It is necessary for us even in our present circumstances;—and we are not out of reach of such events as would make it still more necessary, as would make it the only means of salvation to the State. But union never was founded, and never will be founded, on the basis of uncertainty, or on a delegation of power repugnant to all the principles of our excellent Constitution, and introductive of a precedent very dangerous to the freedom and honour of Parliament, the great bulwark of all liberty, and the great guard against all abuse of power.

"My Lords, I say this once for all. I say it now, that it may not be necessary for me to come again to

the House, upon other occasions of a similar nature, merely in order to say it. I am not very fond of unnecessarily repeating *political creeds*. I had rather that my actions should speak my sense than my words: but yet I don't seek for action when I think it ineffectual to any good purpose: I don't love to blame where I can't see the means to mend: I don't wish to pull down without a hope to build up." 1765.

The utter want of concert in the Ministry and their alienation from the Court were signally displayed during this debate. The Duke of Richmond gave notice of a motion that the persons capable of the Regency should be the Queen, *the Princess Dowager*, and all the descendants of the late King usually resident in England. The Princess's name, originally omitted, was inserted at the suggestion of Horace Walpole, who suspected that Ministers wished to exclude her from the possibility of being Regent, and saw an opportunity of doing mischief. Meanwhile, the judges who had been consulted, declared by the mouth of Chief Justice Pratt, that the Queen was naturalised and capable of being Regent; then, to the surprise of everybody, Lord Hallifax, Secretary of State, intimated the King's wish that the Bill should be recommitted, and himself made the Duke of Richmond's motion, *but leaving out the Princess Dowager's name*. Lord Bute's friends were thunderstruck, and the Duke of Bedford (it is said) danced about the House for joy. In the Commons, however, the name was re-inserted by an adherent of the Court, and not opposed by Mr. Grenville. It was believed that the King had been sur-

1765. prised into this affront upon his mother; certain it is, that the event determined him to get rid of his ministers. It is the strongest possible proof of the vast personal influence of Pitt, that it seemed universally admitted to be impossible to form any administration to which he did not lend the magic of his name, in fact, of which he was not the head.*

The following letter from Lyttelton to his brother, contains the history of the transactions which ended in the formation of the Rockingham ministry, and from this narrative, as well as from the published memoirs of this time, the high estimation in which Lyttelton's abilities were held, and the unswerving integrity of his character may be fairly deduced.

"London, July 28th, 1765.

"My dear Governour,

"Since I wrote to you last, I have had two letters from your Excellency, dated in January and March, 1765. * * * * * *

* "Nothing, (writes Burke to Flood) but an intractable temper in your friend Pitt, can prevent a most admirable and lasting system from being put together, and this crisis will shew whether pride or patriotism be predominant in his character; for you may be assured that he has it now in his power to come into the service of his country upon any plan of politics he may choose to dictate, with great and honourable terms to every friend he has in the world, and with such a stretch of power as will be equal to everything but absolute despotism over the King and kingdom. A few days will shew whether he will take this part, or that of continuing on his back at Hayes, excluded from all ministerial, and incapable of all parliamentary service, for his gout is worse than ever, but his pride may disable him more than his gout."—Burke's Corresp. vol. i. p. 80.

It would be impossible for me to give you a full account of the late transactions with regard to the Administration within the compass of a letter; but a short sketch of them you shall have as follows. Notwithstanding the merit which the late Ministry thought they had with the King by a compliance with his pleasure in the Regency Bill, and by carrying all his other business through both Houses of Parliament with very little difficulty; and though in the great department of the Treasury, Mr. G. Grenville had given a pretty general satisfaction, and gained some reputation, yet the illwill of Lord Bute to him and others of the Cabinet, but more especially to the Duke of Bedford, and something disagreeable in their manner and behaviour to His Majesty had so alienated him from them, that a little before the close of the Session, he determined to part with them. The first step to the execution of this design was a reconciliation between him and his uncle the Duke of Cumberland which Lord Bute advised and effected. The next was, that his Royal Highness was sent to Hayes to acquaint Mr. Pitt, that His Majesty had resolved to dismiss his principal Ministers, (which had been signified to them the day before) and desired him to come in as Secretary of State, and Lord Temple as President of the Council, with Lord Northumberland as First Commissioner of the Treasury, the Duke of Newcastle as Lord Privy Seal, and Charles Townshend, as the other Secretary of State. This was firmly rejected by Pitt and Temple; the consequence of which was, that another Administration was to be formed without delay; or those who knew the King's 1765.

1765. intention to displace them must have continued in their offices against his will. In this emergency I was sent for by the Duke of Newcastle, and told by his Grace, that he had advised the Duke of Cumberland to mention me to His Majesty as the fittest person to be put at the head of the Treasury; that the Duke had done so, and the King had very readily and willingly approved of the choice. My answer was negative, but soon afterwards I was sent for by the Duke himself, who said "it was necessary, that *the King's standard should be set up*, and that he and the King were persuaded there was no man in England under whom there would be so general a resort to that standard as there would be under me." I exprest a proper sense of the great honour done to me in this opinion, but declined to accept the Treasury, which he offered. He prest me to take it in the strongest and warmest terms: said my duty and my loyalty to the King required it; that his authority was insulted, and his person ill-used; mentioned the danger of popular insurrections, which the weavers had begun in the capital, on the House of Lords having thrown out a Bill to encourage their manufacture by greater restraints on the importation of foreign silks; and added, that in such circumstances the King must have a Government, and not a moment could be lost, especially as Lord Sandwich had said in the House of Lords, that whoever advised the King to turn out the Duke of Bedford, in that state of things, was an enemy to his country, as it would have the appearance of making him a victim to the fury of the mob, who had attempted

to murder him and to pull down his house.* It would 1765.
be too long to tell you all I said in answer to this, but the result of it was, that in so unsettled and dangerous a state of the nation at home and abroad, I could not hope to do the King the service he seemed to expect from me in any system of Ministry that could possibly be formed without Mr. Pitt. That I was certain Lord Temple's being at the head of the Treasury was a necessary circumstance to Mr. Pitt's satisfaction in any office, and that I did not despair, if his Royal Highness would empower me to renew the negociation with an offer from the King of that place to Lord Temple, of bringing his Lordship to accept it, and that Pitt might then consent to be Secretary of State, if the King agreed to those measures, which he had declared he would advise, and to such arrangements as might be necessary for His Majesty's service. To this he consented, and I so far succeeded that I prevailed upon Lord Temple to see his Royal Highness;

* Horace Walpole's account, Mem. of G. III. v. ii. p. 154, is, that "The very day on which the Regency Bill passed, the Lords had another Bill sent from the Commons for imposing as high duties on Italian silks as were paid on those of France; and on this foundation, that the French sent their silks to Genoa and Leghorne, and then entered them there as Italian merchandize. This Bill had passed the Commons with little notice, all attention having been engrossed by the plan of the Regency. When it was read by the Lords, the Duke of Bedford alone spoke against it; nobody said a word for it, and it was thrown out,"—and very wisely, for it was a barbarous project. It happened that at the time many Spitalfield weavers were unemployed, who, of course, looked upon the voters against the Bill as their worst enemies.

1765. but an alarm of a mutiny in the House of Lords, and some umbrage taken at a reconciliation which was just then made between his Lordship and Mr. G. Grenville, with some impatience in the King at the difficulties thrown into the treaty by Pitt and Temple, drove His Majesty back again to his former Ministry, before their final answer was given. Yet so offended was he with some of the conditions which that Ministry* imposed upon him at their return, that as soon as the Parliament rose, he negociated again with Mr. Pitt, and after two conferences with him, agreed so entirely with all he proposed, that Pitt was willing to come in as Secretary of State and Prime Minister, if Lord Temple would consent to be at the head of the Treasury. His Lordship was sent for from Stowe,—saw the King, and refused. He putt his refusal on the difficulty of carrying on business in the House of Commons, as he himself was a Peer, and Mr. Pitt declared, that he could not in the infirm and uncertain state of his health, answer for any attendance on the affairs of that House; to which he added, that he had

* After Lyttelton's refusal, the Duke of Cumberland advised the King to retain his old Ministers. He asked, on what conditions they would remain in office. Mr. Grenville, after a conference with his colleagues, mentioned *five*.

1. That Lord Bute should not interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of the Government. 2. That Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, that Lord's brother, should be dismissed from the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal. 3. That Lord Holland should be deprived of his office of Paymaster of the Forces, which should be held a member of the House of Commons. 4. That the Marquis of Granby should be at the head of the army. 5. That the Government of Ireland should be left to the discretionary arrangement of the Ministry.

tender and delicate reasons, which he did not explain to 1765.
His Majesty, nor, so far as I can find, to Mr. Pitt. The publick suppose they mean engagements with his brother and with the Duke of Bedford, which he denies.

"My own opinion is, that he was willing to make a common cause with them against Lord Bute, and wished that in the end his brother might again be brought into the Treasury, but had no present hope or thought of putting him there. He has since talked to some people of a dissatisfaction arising in his mind from what Mr. Pitt had agreed to, of letting Lord Northumberland be made Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Stuart Mackenzie restored to his office of Privy Seal in Scotland, which the former Ministers had deprived him of on their return to the King, though his Majesty then declared, that he thought his honour concerned in continuing him in it, as he had promised not to remove him, when he gave him that office, instead of a patent place, which had been offered to him. Mr. Pitt distinguished between the place itself, and the government or administration of Scotland annexed to it, which he told the King must not be left to the brother of Lord Bute. But Lord Temple said nothing of this matter to the King; nor would he suffer Mr. Pitt to mention it afterwards to His Majesty, as a condition upon which his acceptance would depend, that Lord Northumberland or Mackenzie should not have those places. In a third conference with Pitt, the King prest him to give in without Lord Temple, which he declared he would have done, if his health would

1765. permit him to attend the House of Commons; but, under the incapacity of doing that, he persevered in declining it, though vehemently and repeatedly urged to it by His Majesty. Another administration was, therefore, to be formed. The Duke of Cumberland undertook it, and you will know by the publick papers and other letters from England in what hands it is placed. I was offered the Cabinet with any honourable and lucrative office I pleased, it being supposed that I would not choose an employment of much business, as I had before refused the Treasury. My answer was, that I should have been willing and happy to take part in any arrangement, if Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple had been at the head of it; but could not think of it without them. I must here inform you that Mr. Pitt,* with the warm concurrence of Lord Temple, had meant to bring me into the Cabinet in a very high office if their system had taken place, and as honourable mention had been made of me to the King by Mr. Pitt, in one of his audiences, before Lord Temple refused. The present state of things is this—Mr. Pitt is convinced, that if Lord Temple had accepted, the Ministry formed by and under them would have had nothing to fear from Lord Bute; that the King relished the measures, both foreign and domestic,

* See Pitt's letter, dated June 30, 1765, in the 3rd vol. of the Chatham correspondence, in which he considers himself fortunate to have done himself the honour of mentioning as he ought the name of Lord Lyttelton. The *original*, in Pitt's handwriting is before me; there is also a letter from Mr. Conway, from which it appears that he sought Lyttelton's good offices with Pitt on this occasion.

which he had proposed; and that he can never hereafter come in so agreeably to himself or so usefully to the publick, the time being critical with respect to fore'gn affairs. Nor do I think he will ever co-operate with Lord Temple in any measures of opposition taken by his Lordship, in conjunction with his brother and the Duke of Bedford, or accede to them as a Ministry, though he is reconciled to G. Grenville as a relation. He talks doubtfully of coming to town next winter, but if he does, will support the present administration in all they do conformably to the system and principles he had recommended in his conference with the King. Lord Chief Justice Pratt is made a Peer, and Saunders and Keppel are Lords of the Admiralty, in pursuance of advice which he had given, and with his entire approbation. Yet he declares he had no hand in forming this Ministry, and will by no means be answerable for their sufficiency, or have anything to do in directing their measures. Lord Rockingham, who is at the head of the Treasury, is so infirm in his health, that it hardly seems possible for him to stand an active session of Parliament. One of the Secretaries of State is a very young man, and the other new in the business. In general they want authority, and seem to have no head except the Duke of Cumberland, whose health and life are thought to be very precarious. The desire of Mr. Pitt in the public is inexpressibly strong, and nothing will satisfy them without him. I believe he is also much desired in the Court. When it comes to be thoroughly known and understood that he was perfectly satisfied with the King, and only 1765.

1765. hindered from going in by Lord Temple's refusal, the nation, I fear, will be very angry with his Lordship, and not well pleased that Mr. Pitt did not go in without him. What coolness this difference in their sentiments and conduct at such a critical juncture may produce between them hereafter, or what can be done to bring them to act together, from a conviction that when separate they must act very lamely,—time will show. I did my utmost to bring Temple to get over his difficulties, and not ruin so fair a prospect of good in his country, his family, and his friends; but it was all to no purpose. He is now at Stowe and will be at Hagley about the end of next month. Mr. Pitt is gone to take possession of his Somersetshire estate, and purposes to stay there till about the middle of November. On all this you will make your own reflections; but don't communicate them to me, till you have a very safe hand to convey them to mine.

"I am sorry to find that the madness of your Assembly still continues. If you and the Council can't get the better of them, the King and Parliament must."

* * * * *

It appears from the following letter to Lord Temple that Lyttelton was again pressed to take office under the Rockingham administration.

"Curzon Street, July 11, 1765.

"My dear Lord,

"On Monday last I returned to London, after a week's excursion from it on a party of pleasure, which

I made on purpose to be out of the way of all business. 1765.
But on Tuesday morning, Mr. Conway came to me from the Duke of Cumberland, and pressed me to take a part in the new arrangements.

"My answer was, that I should have been willing and happy to do so, if Mr. Pitt and your Lordship had been at the head of it, but could not think of separating myself from you in any system of administration.

"I went to-day to Hayes where I thought to have found Mr. Pitt and informed him of this transaction; but as he is with your Lordship I must beg you to shew him this letter." * * *

About this time, Governor Lyttelton's wife died; Mr. Grenville, observes in a letter of condolence to Lyttelton, in allusion to the struggles that were then taking place between the Assembly and Governor of Jamaica, "I agree entirely with you that nothing is more likely to have that effect than the difficult scenes of public business in which he is engaged, for however vexatious and anxious they may be, I am fully persuaded that they will end as much to his reputation and honour, and with as much approbation from the King, and from every man of sense in this country, as the first part of this transaction has already done; for I cannot believe that these new-fangled and desperate doctrines,—'that the assemblies in our several colonies have all the same absolute and independent powers in the several provinces, as the Parliament of Great Britain has in this island will find advocates to support them in Council or in Parliament when the fatal consequences of them come to be seriously weighed and well considered.'"

1765. Parliament was assembled on the 17th of December; for the purpose, as the King's Speech alleged, of considering the recent events in America. Lord Hardwicke* moved an address of thanks, expressing "the resolution (of the House) to do everything which the exigency of the case may require." An amendment, couched in language much stronger and more condemnatory, was moved by Lord Suffolk, and supported by Lords Temple, Lyttelton, Graves, Halifax, Sandwich, and the Duke of Bedford. Lord Shelburne deprecated the amendment as precluding, upon insufficient information, the possibility of repealing the Stamp Act, and Lord Camden left the House—from both these circumstances it was justly inferred that Pitt was in favour of the repeal. Lord Mansfield besought Ministers to agree to the motion. The Chancellor, Lord Pomfret, and the Duke of Grafton opposed the motion—the amendment was rejected by 80 to 24. The opposition being disappointed of Lord Bute's support, which (says Walpole) they expected in all questions relating to America. The part which Lyttelton took in this debate, has never been printed, but is thus recorded in his own handwriting.

"Speech in the House of Lords on the Debate on the amendment, proposed by Lord Suffolk to the Address, in answer to the King's Speech, Dec. 17, 1765.

* Succeeded as second Earl in 1764, when Lyttelton's friend the Chancellor died.

"My Lords, 1765.

"I make no apology for rising to speak at this late hour—the importance of the matter I am sure will excuse it—the arguments indeed have been exhausted, but the duty of delivering an opinion remains.

"My Lords, so far as I am able to collect the objections made to the amendment which the noble Lord has proposed, I think they all amount to this, that we have no knowledge of what has been done in America: would to God it were true! but to me it appears that we know a great deal too much; so much as to make it our indispensable duty, in common decency to the Crown, from our regard to the Colonies, from our regard to the Government, from our regard to the honour, the dignity, the authority of the whole legislature, not to sit here one day, without expressing to the King our just indignation at those proceedings, without asserting the dependence of the colonies on this kingdom, and without assuring his Majesty of our zeal to support him in maintaining that dependence. For this, my Lords, no papers, no informations are necessary, unless we want to be informed, that an open and violent disobedience to law is an insult upon Government; and that a languid coolness in Parliament, a kind of indifference about the continuance of that disobedience, would be a worse insult. I must, therefore, not only agree to this amendment with my whole heart and soul, but must also lament, with deep concern, the concern of a well-wisher and friend to the Government, that the Crown was not advised to call the Parliament sooner, in order to strengthen his Majesty with their

1765. opinion, their advice, and their support, at so critical a juncture of time, when it was publick and notorious to all the world, that the sovereignty of Great Britain over its colonies had been denied and resisted; that sovereignty, which consists in their being subjected, not to the authority of the King alone, but of the King and the two other estates of the kingdom in Parliament assembled. If the colonies have been taught, that they are under another constitution of government; and if there be a moral certainty, that the King will not consent to the dismembering of his kingdom, nor the Parliament be disposed to abrogate their own power, the colonies ought to know it without delay: for to them delay may be fatal. But yet, as desirous as I was that the Parliament should be called some time ago, I had infinitely rather that the meeting of it had been still longer deferred, than that this Address should go forth without the Amendment proposed; because I think it would be a most unpardonable failure in our duty to the King; and because, if the Address should go to America as it is now worded, I should not be at all surprised at the people of the colonies conceiving an opinion, that all their proceedings are authorised, or, at least not condemned, by the present sense of this House.

"How to compose the disturbances that have arisen in those parts, especially now that they have gone so far, I am sensible is a work of no little difficulty. But I have too good an opinion of the wisdom of Government to suppose that it can find no better expedients to get over a difficulty than by sacrificing rights of the highest importance.

Other expedients must be found, and a higher policy followed, in the present state of this nation, or all, I am sure, will go to wreck. We have many difficulties to contend with, and many rights to maintain. The eyes of Europe are upon us: if they see us bend in this point, where our sovereignty is concerned, the same flexibility will be expected in others of a more disputable nature. If we are afraid to maintain the inherent rights of our kingdom, essential, unalienable, indefeasible rights, against our own rebellious subjects, how shall we dare to support more ambiguous claims against foreign powers? Such a symptom of weakness appearing in the Government, would be an encouragement to our enemies to raise their demands, and to be obstinate in resisting ours. Here, therefore, we must make our stand; the authority of the legislature must be supported: but by what means to do this; what is wisest, what is safest, what is practicable in such nice and perilous circumstances, requires more information than we can have at this time. I wish that we had sooner been called hither to receive it! The delay may be productive of many and great evils: but receive it we must, before we can presume to give an opinion, beyond asserting the right which the colonies have disputed by acts against their allegiance. Only this I will say, that, whatsoever we do, we ought always to consider the people of those colonies, as the children of Great Britain. Parental tenderness pleads even for undutiful children: but that tenderness would be weakness; it would defeat its own purpose, if it were indulged to the destruction of the parental autho- 1765.

1765. rity. The law of nature has placed that authority in the parent for the benefit of the children. It is not in his power, if he would, to give it up; because it is not in his power to destroy the relation upon which it is founded.

"My Lords, if our colonies think they are contending for liberty, they would do well to consider that all liberty in this nation is secured by the constant protection of Parliament. There is no other power which can effectually guard it at all times, and in all places, against oppression: the Provincial Assemblies, I am certain, cannot. But, by withdrawing themselves from the power of Parliament, they necessarily lose its protection. Obedience and protection must go together.

"My Lords, when the law we made the last session, relating to America, was depending in this House, where it past without a single dissentient vote, I had much talk on the subject of it with the noble Lord who spoke last; and as I then had the happiness to find my judgment on the principle of that bill, and the right asserted in it, confirmed by his, so I must now agree with him, that, if there had been any doubts concerning that right, the time to debate it was then, before the honour of the Legislature was so much engaged to support it, as it is at present. I likewise feel with great pain, that the nature of the opposition made to that Act renders it vastly more difficult to shew that temper of conciliation, that desire of agreement where discord is so hurtful, which would otherwise be thought right, by every sober and dispassionate man in this kingdom, to whom the real state of it is not unknown.

But still, my Lords, in all circumstances, however perplexing, you have a great rule to guide you, *salus populi suprema lex esto.* The wisdom of this House, upon due and full information, when such information shall be given, will I doubt not take those measures that the publick safety requires. But the foundation of such measures, that which is necessary to give them the proper force and effect, must be an immediate and express assertion of that great and fundamental right, on which all your authority, all your power depends. 1766.

"In the other parts of this Address I most heartily concur. The domestick happiness of his Majesty, and the increase of his royal family, are sensible blessings to his people; and the loss which he has lately sustained in his family, is a grievous one to the kingdom."

When Parliament met on the 14th of January, Government had resolved to repeal the Stamp Act, and to pass at the same time an Act declaratory of the supreme authority of Great Britain. This measure* Pitt advocated in the Commons, while in the Lords, Temple and Lyttelton acted in concert with Mr. Grenville, speaking strongly in debate, and signing two protests against the five resolutions which embodied it, and were submitted to Parliament. As there is no other report of this very important debate, except the valuable notes of Lord Hardwicke, printed in the Parliamentary History, I insert in this place the elaborate and careful speech which Lyttelton delivered on this occasion, in which the abstract right of taxing the

* The debate was memorable not only for Pitt's eloquence, but for Burke's first speech in Parliament.

1766. colonies, is clearly and forcibly urged; it is preserved in his own hand-writing.

"Speech on the Tumult occasioned in the North American Colonies by the Act of Parliament imposing a Stamp Duty, anno 1766.

"My Lords,

"I entirely agree with the noble Earl who spoke last in wishing that this question had never been agitated. It never should have been agitated, being already decided by the law of the land, and by powers inherent in the Legislature itself. But it has been agitated in our North American colonies: our right has there been disputed, and the sovereignty of Great Britain insulted, which brings the consideration of it before this House. In giving your Lordships my thoughts on so important a subject, I am under a difficulty, which I never before was under in Parliament, and probably never shall again. When I consider the question on which we are debating, the proposition appears to me so undeniably clear, so incapable of admitting any reserve or exception, that, in speaking to support it, I must tire your Lordships with repeating the most obvious and self-evident truths, which the general sense of mankind, in all age and all nations, has acknowledged and confirmed. But, when I consider the great parts, the great knowledge, the great authority of some from whom I differ, it makes me doubt my own reason, and apprehend that there must be something most profoundly mysterious at the bottom of the question, which my under-

standing can't fathom. This, my Lords, is perplexing: 1766.
and if their authority can have such an effect upon me, what it may have upon our North American colonies, where the passions of men correspond and sympathise with it, I tremble to think! But I hope they will hear, that there is likewise great authority against their opinions; and the greatest of all, the authority of this House. For my own part, I am sensible of my inability, by any thing I can say, to add to that conviction, which the first stating of the question must naturally produce; but, as I think that to be silent upon such an occasion is hardly consistent with duty, I beg leave to set before your Lordships a few general principles, not of party, or faction, which I most heartily join with the noble Duke in detesting, but of policy and government; which no statesman, which no lawyer has ever yet contradicted, and by which, without entering into any refinements, or (to use the words of the noble Earl) *any little litigious arguments*, this great dispute may be properly and clearly determined.

" The first foundation of all government, and of all Legislature, I understand to be this, that mankind, in a state of civil society, has, *ipso facto*, by entering into that state, and by what may be justly called *the Original Compact*, entrusted to Government a right over their property, a right over their liberty, and a right over their persons, for the safety, and for the benefit of the whole common weal. From hence arises that power, which is claimed and used by all governments in their legislative capacity, to lay taxes of all kinds on

1766. all their subjects; to restrain them by coercive and prohibitory laws from many natural rights, to compel them to expose their persons to dangers, which they would wish to avoid; and to inflict upon them pains and penalties, extending even to the loss of life itself, for certain offences, which in a state of nature would be no offences at all. With what forms, and by what persons, this power is to be exercised, depends entirely upon the laws and constitution of government in each particular country; but when those laws have been made, when that constitution is settled, every act of legislation, past according to the rules which the constitution prescribes, is the act of the whole community past in all its several members, which no part of that community, however situated or circumstanced, can be exempt from obeying (when required so to do) upon any pretence whatsoever: because there cannot be two rights, contradictory to each other, and co-existing together in the same state, a right in the Government to make laws for the people, and a right in the people, or any part of the people, to disobey or control them. The least breach that is made in the legislative authority destroys the whole. It is like a breach in a dyke raised to keep out the sea, which, if not instantly stopt, demolishes the whole fence, and opens the way to a fatal destructive inundation.

" Another great fundamental principle of policy is, that there ought never to be *imperium in imperio*, a state within a state: but in all Governments, whether monarchies, aristocracies, or democracies, or all the three

mixed together, there must be always one supreme 1766.
and sovereign Legislature, the power and authority of which within the bounds of the state, not acting repugnantly to the divine laws which transcend all human authority, cannot be fettered or confined by any limitations, unless we suppose an entire dissolution of Government; I say, my Lords, unless we suppose a dissolution of all Government: because I do hold it possible, though the supposition is odious and hardly fit to be made, that the Legislature itself may so essentially violate the trust reposed in it, as to produce an entire dissolution of Government: but without such a dissolution, I repeat it again, the power and authority of any supreme legislature, not acting repugnantly to the divine laws, cannot be fettered or confined by any limitations within the compass of that state to which it belongs. On the acknowledgement of this truth, without any subtle distinctions, depends the whole peace and order of society. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the existence of local inferior legislatures, which every country that has colonies, or even great corporations within itself, must necessarily admit of, with greater or lesser powers, as conveniency may require; but yet subject in all places to the superior authority of the national legislature, active as well as coercive; because otherwise these would be *imperia in imperio*, and break the unity of the whole political system. That our colonies were not freed, by the change of their situation, or the establishment of their local subordinate legislatures from the dominion of ours, the many statutes made to bind them, from

1766. the time of their first settlement, incontestably prove. And how, my Lords, I beg to know, could it possibly have been otherwise in the nature and reason of things? They went out of this country the subjects of the Crown of Great Britain; and unless they can show a new covenant, any *pacta conventa*, by which the King and the Parliament (for the King alone could not do it) have agreed to renounce their sovereignty over them, either in the whole or part, they must remain subject to it by all the most indissoluble bonds of allegiance: for the allegiance of a Briton is to the King in his Parliament, and their united authority, much more absolute than it is to the King in his palace, or in his Privy Council. What he does in those places may be overruled by his Parliament; but what he does in his Parliament nothing can overrule, till the realm itself is destroyed. The *pacta conventa* between Great Britain and her colonies, so far as any appear, are clear and strong the other way; and where none appear, the implied compact leaves them just upon the foot of other British subjects, under the laws of their country, and under that form of legislature and government, which those laws have established. They complain indeed, that by laying internal taxes upon them we deprive them of the right granted to them by their charter, to tax themselves: but this complaint is unfounded. For how, my Lords, does it follow, that using our right is taking away theirs? They will remain in full enjoyment of that local authority, given to them by the Crown, by which they are empowered to make laws and bye-laws in their pro-

vincial Assemblies, for the local purposes of each province; though we occasionally exercise that higher authority, which the Constitution gives us, for the general benefit of the whole, at such times and in such manner as the wisdom of Parliament shall direct. The fallacy lies in supposing that the local authority was given by the Crown *exclusive of the other*, which in fact is not true, and in theory is absurd; as it would imply, that one branch of a mixed legislature, consisting of three estates, can give away or annihilate the power of the whole. 1766.

" My Lords, the last principle I beg leave to recall to your memory, is that general maxim of our Government, and indeed of every free Government, that no subject is bound by any laws whatsoever, to which he has not either personally or virtually consented. I say, my Lords, is not bound by any laws whatsoever; for, till this controversy began with our American colonies, what freeman ever said, what freeman ever imagined, that his life, his liberty, or his honour, may be justly taken from him by virtue of laws made without his consent, but his property cannot: or, what is still much more unaccountable, that one species of his property alone is sacred, and all the rest lies at mercy? What a vision is this, that gilds only one portion of British property in America with the sunshine of liberty, and leaves the rest in utter darkness! The British liberty extends, from the centre of the system, its equal beams to all parts; it pervades, it enlightens, it cherishes the whole without distinction. But we are now desired to create a new Government

1766. for our colonies, nine-tenths of which are composed of absolute tyranny, subjecting them to the rigour of many grievous restraints, and laying upon them the burthen of several impositions, by the authority of laws, to which, according to the tenets of this new invented doctrine, they have no way consented. And this, my Lords, has been called, *giving liberty to the colonies!* A precious liberty indeed! but I will venture to prophesy, that if you don't very much enlarge your gift, they will not thank you for it. They tell us, that not being properly or conveniently represented in the Parliament of Great Britain, they cannot submit to the Stamp Act past here the last session, without the loss of their freedom.—But if this reasoning be good, it extends to all taxes, it extends to all laws. Nor is it possible to conceive that the North American merchants, who feel themselves crampt in their trade by the Act of Navigation, and many other statutes, which from time to time have been made on the policy of that Act, will not apply the same argument, if they find that attention is given to it here, to get rid of those fetters, but confine their liberty to the narrow imaginary line of *internal taxation*, instead of making their claim of exemption co-extensive with the universality of the reason upon which it is founded?

That they already set at nought this chimerical limitation is sufficiently proved by the papers that are now on your table, by some of their own declarations, and by the testimony of those who know them best. Governor Colden, who has lived the longest among them, says in his letter to Mr. Secretary Conway, of

the 7th of November, 1765,—"*People in general are averse to taxes of any kind. The merchants in this place think they have a right to every freedom of trade which the subjects of Great Britain enjoy.*" 1766.

"And their great champion, Mr. Otis, whose book they have adopted as the best exposition of their rights, disclaims and derides the distinction between internal and external, or commercial, taxes. Since he published that book they have honoured him with a trust of the highest dignity and importance; they have made him a deputy to the Assembly of their *States General.* His authority therefore is most weighty to prove their intentions. They do not indeed all speak exactly the same language in their publick declarations: some are more cautious and more reserved than others: but the apparent object, to which all their reasoning tends, is to erect their assemblies into full and compleat Parliaments, independent of ours: and so far they are right, that if the principle be admitted that their consent is not virtually included in the acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, as much as that of many millions of their countrymen here, who have no votes in elections, every act of that Parliament, by which they are affected, equally injures their freedom. We may weave our web of policy very subtle and fine; but it is too fine to hold them. They will surely break through it, and their deliverance from all those commercial restrictions, which are so galling to them, and so necessary for us, will be no remote consequence of our having given way to them in this first attempt, which should rather be considered as the beginning

1766. than as the sum of their demands. But, to put our dispute on its true and proper foundation, there is only one point to be discusst. Are they a part of the dominions of the Crown of Great Britain? If they are not, their resistance to an unlawful authority is undoubtedly lawful. We have exceeded the bounds of our proper jurisdiction, and not only the Stamp Act, but every other law relating to our colonies, from their first migration to this day, is null and void. But, if they are, as many statutes have declared them to be, and no man has yet denied, a part of the British dominions, they must then be proper objects of the British Legislature without reserve or exception. By declaring them exempt from the authority of one law, we should exempt them from the authority of the whole Legislature, which is cutting them off from the body of the State. They would no longer be subjects of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain; they would be aliens; they would be small independent communities, not entitled in any danger to demand our protection, and not liable in any case to be controlled by our power. What friend to Great Britain, or what friend to our colonies, would wish to see this separation? And yet, my Lords, this dissevering, this dismembering of our empire, calamitous as it must be to us and to them, would not be the worst evil that must attend any cession or relaxation of our right in a contest of this nature. If Parliament once should allow, or by any act of timidity encourage an opinion, that the private judgments of subjects, their speculative notions concerning the nature of representation, or the

original inherent rights of the people, are the rule and measure of their obedience to laws, and can supersede the authority of the whole legislature, there is an end of all government. Every man will invent a Constitution for himself: we shall have many legislatures, controlling that of the Parliament, in the several clubs of this city; we shall have Solons and Lycurguses in every coffee-house, in every tavern, and in every gin-shop. Things are tending to anarchy. It is already begun in our North American colonies; but I fear it will not end there. The seeds of it are scattered over many other parts of the British dominions. It imports your Lordships to check the hasty growth of those seeds, while it is yet in your power. Whoever may gain by the harvest, when it shall come to maturity, you I am sure have much to lose. The weight of taxes lies heavy on many people in this island who have no other share in electing Members of Parliament, and who may willingly learn from their brethren in America, that not being represented they ought not to be taxed. 1766.

"A right in all men to a state of perfect equality indefeasible by the tone of any civil institutions, and the inadmissible dominion of the many over the few, have within these few days been publickly asserted in printed papers. From principles of this sort an easy inference may be drawn by the unruly populace of this city, that it is contrary to the natural rights of mankind for one man to be a lord and another a mechanic; for one man to enjoy great wealth with ease, and for another to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. If, in opposition to these notions, you should talk to

1766. them of laws, they may find that the shortest answer to so troublesome an objection would be burning the law books.

"My Lords, this is no season for sporting with curious speculations in matters of government. Whether the entire political system of this nation be absolutely perfect; whether it might not be possible to imagine a more equal or more extensive plan of representation; whether some changes might not be equitably made in the number and qualifications of the representative body, or in the number and qualifications of those who elect them, I by no means think it proper to discuss at this time. The smaller parts of a fabrick may be safely and easily altered; but it is a most dangerous thing to try our ingenuity in altering fundamentals. We have not at this time a Constitution to form; but we have one to maintain, which with all its faults and defects is the envy of the world. Let us maintain it, my Lords; but in the first place let us keep entire and inviolate the legislative authority; for without that we can neither redress any grievance, nor correct any fault, nor secure any benefit of our present Constitution. There have been times when false ideas of independence and liberty have been carried in this kingdom to the destruction of the monarchy, and to the destruction of the peerage: but Cromwell himself did not say, that the right of taxation, in any mode of government, however tender of freedom, could be separated from the power of the supreme legislature. We have had many great debates in both Houses of Parliament concerning the

limits of the authority belonging to each House, or belonging to the Crown, in their separate functions: but concerning the limits of their whole united authority there was never one, till this session, from the earliest records of our journals: and I dare affirm to your Lordships, that to say that a part is not contained in the whole would not be a proposition more repugnant to reason, than what you must maintain, if you should be brought to dissent from this resolution without coming to another, *that our colonies are no part of the British dominions.*" 1766.

The Rockingham Administration, which began its career on the 10th of July, 1765, expired on the 30th of July, 1766, having existed one year and twenty-one days. Burke wrote its epitaph in most durable characters, entitled, "A Short Account* of a late Short Administration." "In that space of time (he said) the distractions of the British empire were composed by *the Repeal of the American Stamp Act*—but the constitutional superiority of Great Britain was preserved by *the Act for securing the dependance of the colonies. Private* houses were relieved from the jurisdiction of the excise *by the Repeal of the Cyder Tax.* The personal liberty of the subject was confirmed by *the resolution against General Warrants*;— the lawful secrets of business and friendship were rendered inviolable by the resolution for condemning the seizure of papers." To those merits, he adds, the setting free

* "It did justice to their integrity," says H. Walpole, "and it could not do too much."

1766. the Trade of America from injudicious and ruinous impositions by one act, and by another improving the market for our own manufacture, by the opening the ports in Dominica and Jamaica,—that the Government encouraged public meetings of merchants—reconciled jarring interests—procured an advantageous treaty of commerce with Russia—liquidated the Canada Bills—and revived the question of the Manilla ransom—kept aloof from Lord Bute—sold no offices, neither practised, nor were suspected of practising corruption—were supported by the confidence of the nation, and traversed by an opposition of place-men and pensioners: "and having held their offices under many difficulties and discouragements, they left them at the express command, as they had accepted them at the earnest request of their Royal Master."

Pitt's declaration that he had no confidence in the Government, and his refusal to take office with them, the Duke of Grafton's resignation, and the intrigues of Lord Chancellor Northington, conspired with the King's dislike, to effect their overthrow.

CHAPTER XVI.

1766—1768.

FROM PITT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION TO THE END OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

[Hagley MSS.—Walpole's Memoirs of George the Third, vol. ii. —Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. — Parliamentary History, vol. xvi., Annual Register for each year—Adolphus' History of England, vol. i. ed. 1841.]

In July the King wrote to Mr. Pitt, desiring to learn his thoughts as to the formation of a new Government; Pitt sent a bombastic answer, and at a subsequent interview, in an evil hour for his fame, undertook the task himself; but Lord Temple was also consulted, and the result of his audience with the King was expressed by his Majesty in a letter to Mr. Pitt, written in very barbarous English, but from which it appears, that Pitt meant "to take the present Administration as a basis to build on," while Lord Temple, the King said, "though he only kept in generals seemed to incline to quarters very heterogenous to my and your ideas, and almost to a total exclusion of the present men." Lord Temple's own account of the matter, which is still obscurer, is contained in a letter 1766.

1766. to his sister, Lady Chatham :—"I should most willingly have considered with you the subject of the present times, but the contents of your letter make it indispensably necessary for me not to leave you a stranger to the indignation with which I received the proposition, of being stuck into a Ministry as a great cypher, at the head of the Treasury, surrounded with other cyphers, all named by Mr. Pitt, of a different complexion from me, with some of whom I had so essentially differed on many accounts, and more especially with all during the last session. But I was determined my temper should be equal to my firmness, conversing with an old friend whom I had much esteemed, and to whom I had with so much partiality, so much deferred through life, labouring as he did at the time under bodily infirmity. My brother James is no stranger to my thoughts on this matter, even after cool reflection on my pillow, and I told the King and my Lord Chancellor to this effect, amongst a variety of other things, that though I was most willing to sacrifice my brother's* pretensions, as he was himself, to Mr. Pitt's indisposition towards him, for the sake of public and general union, yet, as that in my opinion was not the plan, I would not *go in like a child to come out like a fool!*" Lord Temple had demanded the Presidentship of the Council for Lyttelton, and why Pitt rejected one, whom he had himself so recently appointed to a cabinet office, is difficult to understand. It is said, however, to have been the

* George Grenville, with whom he had been recently reconciled.

immediate cause of his breach with Lord Temple, and 1766.
to have dissolved a friendship, strengthened by so many ties, as to have appeared to justify the boast, not unfrequently made, that it was indissoluble.

I find in Lyttelton's handwriting, this "draught of my letter to Lord Shelburne, in answer to his of the 8th of August, 1766."

"Stourhead, August 9, 1766.

"My dear Lord,

"From the time of your Lordship's being appointed Secretary of State, I almost despaired of the honour and pleasure of waiting upon you at Bowood, and think myself greatly obliged to you and Lady Shelburne, that in your present situation you were so good as to have it in your thoughts. Political events may make my private friendships more or less happy to me, but will never alter them if they are not attended with circumstances of a personal nature, which I ought to take ill. I am therefore no less your Lordship's friend, than if I had a share in that Administration to which you have been called, and in which your great talents will have their proper employment. I only wish for your sake, as well as for my country's, that some others of more importance than I had been joined with you in it; which advantage, if it had depended upon me, I would gladly have procured for you and the publick, by a total exclusion of myself.

"It gives me great pleasure that your Lordship is so

1766. well satisfied with my brother,* whose conduct, in his Government will, I hope, recommend him to the favour of those on whom the reward of his services must depend.

"My daughter joins with me in most respectful compliments and thanks to Lady Shelburne for her goodness to us both. She will take every opportunity of cultivating a friendship which is so great an honour to her, and which she values as she ought. Your Lordship, I hope, will also permit me to endeavour to find some leisure hours, when publick business will not suffer, by your enjoying the pleasures of private friendship, and conversing as you used to do, with

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient

"and most faithful humble Servant,

"LYTTELTON."

* Governor Lyttelton was about this time appointed Ambassador to Portugal, and Lord Chatham wrote to him as follows:—

"Bath, Oct. the 23rd, 1766.

"DEAR SIR,

"Nothing but want of the use of my hand, which I have just begun to recover, could have made me defer acknowledging the honour of your obliging letter. I now embrace the earliest opportunity in my power to congratulate you on the late marks of the King's favour, in appointing you to a mission of such importance to the commercial interests of his subjects. Having received the King's commands to consider of the ablest persons for such a destination, I could not have a conversation with Lord Shelburne on the subject without your name occurring to us, on which occasion, our ideas concerning the King's service were sure to meet. I sincerely hope that you will find all personal satisfaction where you are going, and I doubt not the publick service will receive great advan-

Pitt became Earl of Chatham, and formed that administration immortalized by Mr. Burke's painting, "so checkered and speckled * * * a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed, a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaick: such a tesselated basement without cement; here a bit of blackstone, and here a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies—that it was a very curious show—but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on." To such an administration* was opposed—the true and faithful Rockingham party—Conway only excepted, who took office for a while under Pitt—the Duke of Bedford, Lord Temple's party, and the Duke of Richmond. Much of the Great Commoner's popularity was extinguished by his earldom. Still he never ceased to believe that he could detach any separate man from any connection. In any state of circumstances his difficulties would have been great, but they were immeasurably increased by that strange conduct which 1766.

tage from your zeal and abilities.—I am with great truth and consideration,

"Dear Sir,

"your most obedient

"and affectionate humble Servant,

"CHATHAM."

* The Duke of Grafton, head of the Treasury; Charles Townshend Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Shelburne Secretary for the Southern Department; Lord Camden Chancellor; Lord Northington Privy Seal; Lord Granby Commander-in-Chief; Conway remained Secretary of State.

1766. still is, and probably always will be, wrapped in mystery. No sooner was the ministry formed than its creator secluded himself from all intercourse with them. He was the first man, H. Walpole wittily remarks, "who ever thought of retiring into the office of Prime Minister." To this kind of demeanour succeeded another, flowing principally if not entirely from bodily disease, which shewed itself in an hysterical form, rendering the afflicted person totally incapable of transacting any business.

The harvest of this year failed both in England and on the Continent; the price of bread rose, and a panic of scarcity filled the country with alarm. A proclamation was issued against forestallers and regraters, and an embargo was laid on ships preparing to sail with cargoes of grain. Parliament was summoned in November. Lord Chatham defended the embargo as an act of power, justifiable during the recess of Parliament on the ground of necessity, and quoted Locke; so far all was well: unfortunately Lords Nottingham and Camden, declared that the crown had a legal right, in cases of necessity, to interpose even against a positive act of Parliament; this called up Lord Mansfield, who entirely demolished their position; Lyttelton and Lord Temple followed on the same side, but the address was carried without a division. Soon afterwards, however, the discussion was renewed, it being found necessary to pass an act of indemnity;* Lord Chatham treated it with lofty disdain, desiring it might

* When Conway presented the Bill to the House, he disclaimed in strong language Lord Camden's doctrine.

be made as strong as possible, and include those who advised as well as those who had executed the measure; but Lord Camden repeated his former arguments and said, very unhappily, that it was "at most but a forty days' tyranny." The advantage was not lost by his opponents; his arguments were met by very able and eloquent speeches, from Lords Mansfield, Lyttelton, and Temple,—which, though no details were recorded of this debate, are preserved in a Pamphlet, called "a Speech against the Suspending and Dispensing Prerogative," written by a Mr. Mackintosh, under the direction and with the assistance of Lords Lyttelton and Temple.* 1766.

This debate in both Houses, warned Lord Chatham that a powerful coalition was formed against his Government. He endeavoured to propitiate the Duke of Newcastle, by bestowing Lord Edgecumbe's place on Sir John Shelley, but the act disgusted many of his friends. The Duke of Portland, Lord Egmont, and Lord Chatham's favourite admirals, Saunders and Keppell, withheld their support: another and far bitterer disappointment awaited the Prime Minister. His mind had been full of a vast scheme for forming a

* It is printed at length in the 16th volume of the Parliamentary History, page 251, a double motto was prefixed to it.

"It is but a forty days' tyranny at the outside."—*per legem terræ.*

"Populus Romanus beneficii et injuriæ memor esse tolet—nemo civis, qualis sit vir, potest latere. Quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere, advorsum quem, neque leges valerent, neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat. Sed eos frequens Senatus judicavit contra Rempublicam et salutem omnium dixisse."—*Sall.*

1767. grand alliance of the northern powers with England, against France, Spain, and Italy, and he counted on the willingness of his old admirer Frederic to aid the scheme; but Frederic was still sore from the Peace of Paris, and detested the English, while the frequent changes of administration made him doubt the stability of our Government: the scheme therefore failed. About this time Burke wrote to Lord Rockingham, "there is still little twilight of popularity remaining round the great peer, but it fades away every moment." In the House of Commons his character was continually attacked, and rarely defended: his Chancellor of the Exchequer was defeated on a question of finance by Mr. Grenville, who moved the amendment.* An important question which followed soon after, relating to the interference of Government with the affairs of the East India Company, revealed how much disunion prevailed in the administration. Burke described Chatham as "a great invisible power, that left no minister in the House of Commons. The greatest integrity, (he said, meaning Conway,) had no power there, the rest approached him veiling their faces with their wings."

Before the close of the session, a bill was brought in for giving £8000. per annum to each of the King's brothers, the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland, as well as a marriage portion of £40,000. to the Princess Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark. Mr. Grenville in the Commons, and Lord Temple in the Lords, opposed that part of the bill which entailed

* H. Walpole says, it was the first important question lost by the crown, since the fall of Sir R. Walpole.

the establishment upon the issue of the Princes; 1767.
and Lyttelton delivered the following able and constitutional speech which I print from his own manuscript.

" Speech on the Bill for settling a Revenue of £8000. per annum on their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland, 1767.

" My Lords,

" In giving your Lordships my opinion on this very important and very delicate subject, I must begin with supposing what the Constitution supposes, and what your Lordships would be offended if I did not suppose, that the Bill which is under your consideration, was framed by the advice of the Ministers of the Crown, and is by no means such a personal and immediate act of the King, as those which the noble Earl with the white staff, who spoke last, has mentioned to your Lordships, very improperly (I must think), and not so consistently with the freedom of debate in this House as he generally speaks upon other occasions.

" My Lords, as I know nothing more important to the happiness of the King, or to the happiness of the kingdom, than perfect union and harmony in the Royal Family, it is with the most sincere and cordial satisfaction, that I see any new mark of his Majesty's kindness and tender affection for his Royal brothers, who are so well deserving of it, and so endeared to their country, as well as to him, by many amiable virtues: but I can't help lamenting, that, in the manner of carrying the generous purpose of His Majesty

1767. into effect, a proper regard is not paid to another excellent sentiment, no less rooted in his heart than even his love for his brothers, that sentiment of paternal goodness for his people, which has ever disposed him rather to make them partakers of his Royal bounty and munificence, than to add anything to the burthens with which they are loaded.

"The first act that distinguished the auspicious beginnings of His Majesty's reign, and in the praise of which I must join, (though not for just the same reasons) with the noble Earl who spoke last, was the manner of settling the Civil List. I well remember of what prejudice it was to the late King in the opinion of the people, that his Civil List had been settled in a different manner. For, though upon an average of the whole reign, the revenues produced no more, or but very little more, than a clear annuity of eight hundred thousand pounds, they were supposed to produce at least a million; and the odious circumstance of the publick's being obliged to make good any deficiency that might happen, without being entitled to receive any benefit from an eventual surplus, naturally tended to create a dissatisfaction in the mind of the subject, and to excite an idea, the most unhappy for the Crown that can be conceived, the idea of a separation and opposition of interests between the King and the publick! The mischief of this was so great, that if, upon the accession of his present Majesty to the Crown, it had been proposed to continue the Civil List on that footing, though I had been the single man in either House to oppose it, I would have

stood forth, and have loudly protested against it, out of duty to the King, and still more for his sake, than for the sake of the publick. But I most gladly concurred in the settlement of a fixed and certain revenue, payable out of the aggregate fund, into which all the revenues which had composed the late King's Civil List were then carried, with the consent and at the desire of his present Majesty himself, *who thereby gave*, (as the Act of Parliament most justly exprest it) *the most substantial proof of his tender concern for the welfare of his people, and that the same is superior in his Royal breast to all other considerations.* Such, my Lords, was the language of Parliament on this subject: but let me observe to your Lordships that the very same Parliament, *with hearts full* (as they themselves declared) *of the warmest duty and gratitude*, thought they made a sufficient and adequate return, and gave ample testimony of their great affection to his Majesty, by the revenue they settled, which they declared *to be competent for defraying the expenses of His Majesty's Civil Government, for supporting the dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and to enable His Majesty to make an honourable provision for the Royal Family*, which they could not but foresee would be likely to increase: for though he was not then married, yet his marriage was most confidently hoped for and expected. And now, my Lords, let me ask, did any Prince ever sit upon the throne of this kingdom, who had, or who could desire to have, a Parliament more attached to his person and interests, or more affectionately and more generously liberal to 1767.

1767. him, than that Parliament to this King! But His Majesty's clear receipt has since that time been augmented, on the death of the Duke of Cumberland, by the addition of fifteen thousand pounds per annum; an addition just equal to that which His Majesty is desirous of making to the annual income of his Royal brothers, over and above that provision which his Royal grandfather made for the younger sons of the Crown. He desires that an annuity of twenty thousand pounds should be given to each of his brothers: and had he been advised to apply this sum to that purpose, or to take it from the overflowings of his Irish revenue, or from any improvement of that which he draws from America, and which is not included in his Civil List, the receiving of the whole from the bounty of the most gracious of Sovereigns, and most amiable of brothers, during the term of his life, would have been a great increase to the happiness of those princes, and, allow me to say, a much better precedent to all future times. Instead of that, the Royal Family is separated from itself by this new method of proceeding. It is not from the Crown, it is not from the proper revenue of the Crown, from that revenue which was given as an honourable provision for the whole Royal Family, that the brothers of the King are supported. The Civil List is disencumbered of part of the charge which lay upon it before for their maintenance and support, and an annuity for their lives of four-and-twenty thousand pounds, divided in three equal portions, is to be given by the people, who can consider this charge in no other light, than as an addition to

the Civil List, made at a time when that revenue is richer, by fifteen thousand pounds a-year than when it was granted, and the publick poorer by many, many millions! 1767.

"My Lords, I must think that the Crown has unhappily been ill-advised in this matter.—It was a saying of the great Lord Treasurer Burleigh, *that he hated to see the royal Treasury swell, like a distempered spleen, when the other parts of the commonwealth were in a consumption.* Apply those words to these times. Is this a season to increase the private wealth of the Crown, when the wealth of the kingdom is declining, and hardly able to supply the necessary demands for the safety of the whole? Does the enormous load of our debts and taxes, does the failure of our specie, does the diminution of our exports, does the decrease of our foreign trade in some of its best and most profitable branches, authorise such a proceeding? From all these causes combined, and from the dearness of all the necessaries of life, the distress of the poor is so grievous, that in many parts of the kingdom they are ready to rise, and take up arms, for want of bread. Will it appease those commotions to have them told that the Parliament, which has done nothing effectual to give them relief, is making presents to the Civil List, as if there were a superfluity of wealth in the nation, which invited liberality, and called upon those who have the honour of advising the King, to make their court by employing their credit in Parliament to enlarge the narrow bounds of former grants to the Crown, and to shew the superiority of their genius in

1767. business by the greater extent of their bounty?—Where will that bounty stop, and what will be the next demand?—The noble Duke who presides at the head of the Treasury, who cannot be unacquainted with the circumstances of the kingdom, and who feels for the publick as much as any man living, I dare be confident wishes, in conjunction with his friend and very able assistant, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that a system of frugality might begin to prevail: but I am sorry to say his wishes are no security to the publick, even in matters relating to his own high office. Alas, my Lords, I have used a very improper word—there is no office that can be called a high one. They are all sunk, all degraded, and the state itself will sink with them, if the ancient spirit of the Constitution does not rouse itself up from that insensible languor into which it is fallen, and shake off the servile chains with which it is fettered!

"Before your Lordships concur in any bounty of this nature, you ought at least to be very well informed, whether in giving additions to the King's Civil List, you really give to the King. For my own part I much doubt it; I much doubt whether the King will be made any richer, though the publick is made poorer. It is not those expenses, which can properly be charged to his account, that exhaust his revenue. In the whole catalogue of them not one can be found that bears the stamp of any vice; and virtue never yet impoverished a prince. Compassion for distress, protection and encouragement to eminent merit, to those sciences that enlighten, to those talents

that improve, to those arts that embellish civil society, 1767.
these, my Lords, are the chief, I might almost say the sole articles of His Majesty's private expenses. But it is not the well regulated and moderate indulgence of such elegant tastes, or of such humane dispositions, that makes it necessary now, or ever will make it necessary, for a King of Great Britain, possessed of such a revenue as his present Majesty is possessed of, in this kingdom and in Ireland, to come to his Parliament and desire to have it augmented. The gulf that swallows up all the wealth of the Crown, is the modern practice of trading and bargaining with the Crown for the buying of men into offices, or for the buying of them out; it is the setting up a new kind of Court insurance, to indemnify and secure political traders from any apprehensions they may have of losing their ventures, or making a bad voyage; it is the accumulating of pensions, it is the adding to the parade and to the expense of the Government without adding to its strength: this, I say, is the gulf which not the utmost liberality, either of the King or of the Parliament will ever be able to fill. If there be really a distress in the administration of Government from the indigence of the Crown, and your Lordships are desirous of removing that distress, you must endeavour to change the spirit of the times. For of this be assured, so long as that shall continue, if that be not effectually driven out of the Court, if a very different spirit does not arise and prevail, a spirit of disinterestedness, a spirit as incapable of trafficking with the Crown as of betraying the publick, though all the treasures of both Indies

1767. should be added to those of the empire of Great Britain, they would be found insufficient, all would be wasted, all consumed: though administrations should be changed with every change of the moon, let who will be removed, let who will come in, unless this change be effected the kingdom is ruined.

"My Lords, I am very sorry to have been forced to say what I have said; but I thought it my duty: and I should hold myself most unworthy of a seat in this House, if, when a sense of duty bids me speak, any other motives had power to close my lips. It is not the provision made for the three Royal brothers against which I object, but the manner of making it. I think that manner unprecedented, impolitick, dangerous: I think it destroys the whole principle, the whole policy, of the Civil List Act. I think it might have been done more conformably to the wishes of the King himself, as exprest in his message; more beneficially to the Princes; without detriment to the publick, and without risking the least diminution of that which His Majesty thinks his most valuable treasure, the affection of his people, that affection which must be his great resource, to draw him out of those difficulties which embarrass his Government more and more every day, and those dangers which hang, like a black and threatening cloud, over the state of his kingdom. I could not, therefore, sit still, and seem by my silence to approve what my judgment condemns; though I do not mean to oppose the passing of a Bill, the purport of which I think right, and which it is not in our power to alter or amend."

In the list of speakers preserved in the Hardwicke papers, of those who opposed on the 17th of June a motion for a conference with the House of Commons, on the Bill for restricting the East India Company's dividend to 10 per cent., Lyttelton's name appears on two occasions, with Temple, Richmond, Mansfield, Newcastle, Bedford, Weymouth, Suffolk, and Gower. 1767.

At this time, Lord Chatham's health was generally believed to be irrecoverable. To repeated letters from the King, requesting his advice, he wrote feeble answers, declaring his "*utter inability*" to act, and recommending that the Duke of Grafton should be placed at the head of the Treasury, and should name his own Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Government meanwhile was divided in itself. The Duke of Grafton, Lord Northington, and Lord Camden, looking upon Lord Shelburne as a secret enemy, and persuading the King that he was so; while he secretly, and C. Townshend openly, detested them: and while Conway was eager to rejoin the Rockinghams. In this state of things, negotiations were opened with the Grenvilles, among whom Lyttelton was now again to be reckoned, the Rockinghams and the Bedfords, and on these the following documents throw considerable light.

LETTER FROM MR. GRENVILLE TO LYTTELTON.

"Wotton, July 14th, 1767.

"My dear Lord,

"Lord Temple and I agreed yesterday at Stowe, that the most expeditious, and the safest way of trans-

1767. mitting to you an account of what has passed upon the subject of Lord Rockingham's negotiation, would be to send Mr. Loyd, who is with us, and who is fully apprized of all the particulars, to relate them to you, together with what we have said and done upon it. I own I doubt very much of its success; but whether it is intended to succeed or not, I am very glad that the failure of it can never be imputed to the ambitious, or interested views of Lord Temple or myself. Having left it, I think upon the properest ground, we have nothing to do but to wait the event, and to act accordingly. Let me know, as soon as the bustle is over, when we may hope to see you in Buckinghamshire, and when you are to be in Worcestershire, that I may, if possible, avail myself of it. You see my thoughts are turned to the country, from the busy scene of politics, and to my private friends from public connexions. The truth is, I have almost had enough of the latter, and much too little of the former; I therefore wish, if I can, to make the balance more even, which I think, at present, is a wish not unlikely to be gratified; but this is owing to my particular situation, which makes that both honourable and desirable for me, which is by no means so for you. I will not, however, enter in this disquisition any farther, than to assure you that these are the real sentiments, of my dear Lord,

"Yours most affectionately,
"and faithfully,
"GEORGE GRENVILLE."

"Right Hon. Lord Lyttelton."

"July 19th, 1767. 1767.

"On Tuesday, the 7th of this month, a negotiation was opened with Lord Rockingham, by a message from the King, through the Duke of Grafton, which was delivered at a meeting held at General Conway's house. After some previous compliments, the Duke of Grafton told Lord Rockingham, that the King wished that Lord Rockingham, and his friends, might form his Administration, and that he intended his Lordship should resume the office of First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Rockingham having asked whether he was at liberty to communicate this to others besides his own friends, was answered that the question had been foreseen, and that he might communicate it; but it seemed intended, that this was meant to the Duke of Bedford, and his friends only.

"The Duke of Grafton made an offer of himself to serve under Lord Rockingham, and expressed some hopes that the *remains* of Lord Chatham's friends might be treated with some indulgence. Upon being desired to explain himself, he mentioned *the Chancellor*. Lord Rockingham, in the account of his conference, which he gave by letter to Lord Albemarle, speaking of this intimation concerning the Chancellor, says:—"But your Lordship knows my sentiments so well upon this point, that my determination is taken, though I did not then enter into the detail of it. Lord Albemarle, who was then at Woburn, shewed Lord Rockingham's letter, as he was desired, to the Duke of Bedford, in the conclusion of which was a proposition from Lord Rockingham to come

1767. to Woburn, if the Duke of Bedford and his friends were disposed to act with them in the Administration. The answer given, was, that the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville were one, and that he would not proceed without consulting Mr. Grenville. The intended visit was therefore postponed till that was done; and Mr. Rigby, who was then at Woburn, as well as Lord Gower, proposed to go to London to inquire whether Mr. Grenville was returned from the West, and to give Lord Rockingham the meeting that evening, which he did accordingly, and repeated to him their resolution not to do any thing without consulting Mr. Grenville, and that they were determined not to be separated. In consequence of this, Mr. Rigby went to Wotton on Friday the 10th, and assured Mr. Grenville, in the strongest terms, of the Duke of Bedford's regard and union with him, both in system and in principles, and his own determination to cultivate it to the utmost. He said he had told Lord Rockingham that neither the Duke of Bedford himself, nor he, as an individual, would ever depart from the ground taken, to assert and establish the entire sovereignty of Great Britain over her Colonies. That he was told in answer, that he, Lord Rockingham, hoped that might be settled to their satisfaction. Mr. Rigby added, that Lord Rockingham declared for a wide and comprehensive system; but it is not known that any thing, either with regard to measures or men, has been talked of in detail, nor is it certain to what degree Lord Rockingham is authorized. Mr. Grenville, after acknowledging the sense which he had of

the behaviour of the Duke of Bedford, and his friends, towards him, answered, that as to measures, his opinions were well known, especially with regard to the capital one, ascribing and establishing the sovereignty of Great Britain over America, in which he was happy to find that the Duke of Bedford and his friends so perfectly agreed with him. That as to arrangement of offices, as no message was sent to him, so he had no answer to give; nor if there had, would he have given one without Lord Temple. That he entirely approved of a wide and comprehensive plan for an Administration, as the likeliest to produce vigour and permanency, without which no system for the public good could be pursued. That upon these principles he should be extremely pleased to see his friends honourably placed in the King's Government, and would cheerfully support an Administration formed upon them:- that he would support it out of office; and Mr. Grenville insisted that his name should not be mentioned for any office whatsoever, as it had long been his determination not to be obtruded upon the King. Mr. Rigby went on Saturday the 11th to meet Lord Rockingham, at Woburn. Mr. Grenville went the same day to Stowe. On Saturday the 12th, Mr. Rigby came over to Stowe, and told Mr. Grenville, that the Duke of Bedford and Lord Gower were extremely satisfied with his answer, to which Lord Temple agreed in every particular; and Mr. Grenville, and Lord Temple, both assured Mr. Rigby that no factious or interested views of theirs should stand in the way of any public settlement, which, if possible, 1767.

1767. they sincerely wished to see made upon those principles in which Mr. Rigby assured them that they all concurred. Mr. Rigby's language in both visits was as open and as amicable as could be. Mr. Grenville's real wish on this occasion is, that his friends could be honourably placed in the King's Government, upon principles which he can neither depart from himself, nor advise others to leave; and will be happy, if, by waving any pretensions of his to office, he might contribute to that great purpose, instead of getting an office for himself, which might give jealousy, and must lessen his claims for provisions for his friends.

"It must be observed, that neither Lord Temple, nor Mr. Grenville, *bound or pledged* themselves to any thing. They spoke their opinions upon the two propositions, as stated by Lord Rockingham to the Duke of Bedford, the one of a broad wide bottom of Government, the other of adopting proper measures, and particularly respecting America."

The next letter from Mr. Grenville's private secretary, contains the account of the failure of this negotiation.

"July 24th, 1767.

"My Lord,

"My ignorance of your Lordship's motions has alone prevented my attempting to meet your Lordship with a letter at some of your stages. I now hear that you proposed to be at Bristol about this time, but still not with that certainty which would encourage

me to send your Lordship the detail of what has past, in a packet by the coach. I can only hazard a line by the post, which, if it should miscarry, and be opened, will not disclose any wonderful mysteries to the curiosity of a country post-master. Your Lordship is, I understand, apprised of the first part of the negotiation, which has been carrying round the circuit of Wotton, Stowe, and Woburn, and which at last centered in town, upon Lord Rockingham receiving a letter from the Duke of Grafton to inform him that the King was willing to admit him to an audience; his sentiments concurring in the idea of a comprehensive plan which should exclude no denomination of men. His Lordship hereupon desired the Duke of Bedford to come up and assist him in forming an arrangement. They met first on Monday evening with the Dukes of Newcastle, Richmond, and Portland, Lords Sandwich and Weymouth, Mr. Dowdeswell, and Mr. Rigby; and again on Tuesday, when none but the Dukes of Bedford and Newcastle, the Marquis of Rockingham, Mr. Rigby, and Mr. Dowdeswell, were present. Some difficulties arose on a letter written by Mr. Grenville to Mr. Rigby, and then produced, in which Mr. Grenville repeated the condition he all along insisted on, as necessary to his concurrence with any Administration, that the capital measure of asserting and establishing the sovereignty of Great Britain over its Colonies, should be such as he could approve of. The discussion of this matter was however at last postponed to future consideration, and then Lord Rockingham named Mr. Conway to be Secretary of 1767.

1767. State, and the Minister in the House of Commons. The Duke of Bedford objected to it, saying that he thought Mr. Conway chose the military line, and that on no account could he consent to placing him in such a situation: Lord Rockingham strenuously insisted upon it. The Duke absolutely refused to agree to it, and the conference thereupon broke off, each party declaring the other entirely at liberty from all engagements, as much as if nothing had passed between them. His Lordship has since had a short audience, and it is said that he is going out of town; the whole affair being to all appearance entirely at an end. Your Lordship, who are more solicitous for the characters, than the situations of your friends, will hear with pleasure that the Duke of Bedford has maintained the greatest firmness and temper in these conferences, and that the moderation, the publick spirit, and the prudence of Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville, meet with the highest approbation, even from those who have no prejudices in their favour.

"I have the honour to be,
"with the greatest respect,
"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obedient,
"and most humble Servant,
"THOMAS WHATELY."

"Parliament Street,
"24th July, 1767."

"I shall be anxious to know that this does not miss you, and shall therefore be obliged to your Lordship for a line to acknowledge the receipt of it."

The next letter is from Mr. Whately (Mr. Grenville's private Secretary):— 1767.

"July 30, 1767.

"My Lord,

"I am favoured with your two letters from Bristol by the post, and with your parcel by the coach: I have obeyed your Lordship's commands, and have forwarded your packet to Mr. Grenville by a servant who was going to Wotton, and that to Lord Temple by the Buckingham coach. Nothing remains, I think, which your Lordship has given me in charge, but to satisfy your inquiries into our political situations. Lord Chatham's state of health (I was told authentically yesterday) is certainly the lowest dejection and debility that mind or body can be in. He sits all the day leaning on his hands, which he supports on the table; does not permit any person to remain in the room: knocks when he wants any thing; and having made his wants known, gives a signal without speaking, to the person who answered his call, to retire. In such a condition it is needless to say that he has been no actor in the late transactions: he has hardly been a spectator; nor has he been so much affected by them as to resign. But he seems to be considered as unconcerned in the event: though the physicians say it is possible for him to recover, speaking of it, however, as a distant possibility. Lord Rockingham is gone out of town, some fruitless attempts having been made, by some ministers, though I believe without any authority, to prevail upon him to accede with his own friends only, since the great negotiation broke off.

1767. At the end of which he was informed that the offer of the treasury had never been made to him. Since his departure nothing has passed, nor does there appear any symptoms of an immediate alteration, either great or small, with a view to strengthen or dissolve the present tottering system. That the blow given to it is fatal hardly admits of a doubt: how long it may linger I am not state physician enough to know. I have some thoughts of going to Stowe and Wotton next week, and I fear I shall be engaged in another part of the country at the time they set out for Hagley; I should, if it were in my power, have been very happy to have paid my respects to your Lordship there; and it gives me great pleasure to hear that your health is so entirely recovered, that you will be able to enjoy all the beauties of that delightful place, where illness and confinement would be intolerable.

"I have the honour to be,
"with the greatest respect,
"My Lord,
"your Lordship's most obedient,
"and most humble Servant,
THOMAS WHATELY."

"London,
"30th July, 1767."

On the 2nd of August Mr. Grenville writes from Wotton:—

"MY DEAR LORD,

"NOTHING material that I know of has happened in the political world since the date of your letter of the

27th of last month. I desired Mr. Whately, who was upon the spot, to inform you of the breaking up of the negotiation with Lord Rockingham, and of all the particulars which had attended it; since which the publick reports are, that things are in a greater confusion and uncertainty than ever. It is said that the King told Lord Rockingham that he had never authorised the Duke of Grafton to offer to his Lordship the office of First Lord of the Treasury. This must necessarily make a disagreable mistake between them, but to which of the two Lords it is owing I have not materials sufficient to determine. I am extremely happy in the full approbation which you express of the part Lord Temple and I have taken upon this occasion. When I intimated that there might be a difference between your situation and mine, I meant only, that whatever might be said of me, it could not be pretended that you was in the case of being forced and obtruded upon the King, and that therefore if every thing else were settled as it should be, there would be no colour for your not filling an honourable office which you are in all respects so well entitled to. This, my dear Lord, is the only difference between us, and the only one, I hope, there ever will be. You certainly have made a mistake, or I myself have made one in my letter to you, when you mention our coming to Hagley in the month of August. We always understood that about the beginning or middle of September was the time the most agreeable to you, and which was fixed for our party there. We mentioned this to 1767.

1767. Mr. Pitt* as the time settled, and he promised to meet us at Hagley accordingly. We have fixed all our own company here during the course of this month, and the first week of the next, when our Eton boys who are just come home, are to leave us. It will therefore be impossible for us to wait upon you at Hagley before that time, but if your own engagements and arrangements should carry you from home by the end of this month, I beg you will not suffer any thought of us to keep you there a moment longer than you intended, as we had much rather defer for another year the pleasure which we propose to ourselves from so agreeable a party than put you to the least inconvenience; we hope, however, at all events, not to be deprived of that part of it, which in all places will ever give us the greatest satisfaction; and we flatter ourselves that if this unlucky mistake should prevent us from seeing you at Hagley, that you will at least make it up to us as far as you can by giving us the more of your company at Wotton. Our proposition was to have gone to Lord Aylesford's, at Packington, about the 7th or 8th of September, and after three or four days' stay there, to have gone on to Hagley, but we would change the order of our march, and come first to you, if that had suited you better. Lord Temple comes here on the 11th of this month, and is to be at Eastbury on the 13th, and from thence intends to go on upon his western progress to Mount Edgecombe, &c. and probably to Boconnock if Mr. Pitt is there. He proposes to be absent between

* Father of the first Lord Camelford.

three weeks and a month in the whole. The inhabi- 1767.
tants of Wotton all join in their kindest compliments to you. My wife hopes that she is much better for her journey.

"I am ever, my dear Lord,
"most affectionately,
"and most faithfully your's,
"GEORGE GRENVILLE."

All these negotiations failing, Charles Townshend was seized with the ambition of exchanging his Chancellorship of the Exchequer for the office of Prime Minister. It appears that his wish was gratified: and that he had even begun to make appointments, when, in the prime of life, and just touching the goal of his hopes, his career was arrested by an unexpected death. This event revived the difficulties of forming a Government; after some delay, Lord North accepted the Chancellorship of the Exchequer under the Duke of Grafton, as Prime Minister, though Lord Chatham still retained his place. The following letter refers to these events.

"Thursday, 17th Sept. 1767.

"MY LORD,

"As I shall take it for granted Mr. Grenville has left Hagley by the directions given about his letters, I trouble your Lordship with one word, just to say that the Secretaries of State were yesterday in with the K— two hours. That the ministerial people are in high spirits, determined to go on, and that Lord

1767. North is to accept the Exchequer Seals. The language held is, that though North has not Mr. Townshend's brilliancy, yet he has great abilities, and will draw with Mr. Conway. Great appearance of ill-humour in the Court of France towards us. All this intelligence you may depend on.—It comes to me from a secret channel of unquestionable authority.

"Your Lordship's most respectful Servant,

"CH. LLOYD."

Parliament met on the 24th of November. Lyttelton came to town, and wrote the following very curious account to Lord Temple of his interviews with the principal leaders of the Opposition.

Indorsed—"Lord Temple unexpectedly coming to town, this letter was not finished."

"London, Nov. 25, 1767.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"MY first conference upon my coming to town, with any person of importance, was with Lord Hardwicke, in which I think nothing passed that was very material, except that his Lordship seemed inclined to have some topicks of opposition touched upon the first day in both Houses of Parliament, and carried on through the session by his friends and ours in conjunction. On my desiring to know what those topicks were in which he thought that the Rockinghams would agree with us, he first mentioned Portugal, about which he seemed much heated, saying, they had broke all their treaties of commerce with England,

and nothing was done on our part to obtain satisfaction. 1767.
I told him what my brother William had written to Sir Richard, that the Court of Lisbon had exprest to him as good dispositions, and promised as fair in all points, as could be desired; but between promising and performing there might be a difference, or at least a distance of time: that Court being very slow in all its proceedings. Upon more talk I found that what made him so particularly eager on this matter was, that he thought my Lord Rockingham and those in the ministry with him, would get some honour, by its appearing that they alone of all the ministries since the peace had stirred in that business. He then came to the points relating to America, upon which he was very full of doubts and fears, but on my mentioning what had lately been done in Carolina, he said he would join with us in any measures to force the colonies to obey our *commercial* laws. It is remarkable that through our whole conversation he avoided to talk of what had past in the late negotiation for a change of the ministry, but seemed to agree in what I once or twice threw out, that even supposing a successful opposition in Parliament, it was impossible that my friends and Lord Rockingham should agree in forming a ministry, or in carrying on a Government. I took occasion to say that I did not see the same difficulty with regard to him and his family, or to the Duke of Newcastle: and that they and our friends combined might do very well without him or his, if we had power in our hands, at which he smiled, but said nothing.

" My next conference was with Lord Mansfield. I

1767. found that he wished your Lordship would have been in town at the meeting of Parliament, as the Duke of Bedford intended to say something the first day. I answered him, that if his Grace called you would come, and had signified so to his Grace. He said you would not be *sent for*, but he thought you had better have been in town at this time, as the Duke was eager to speak, and your being at his side, and taking the same part, when the tone was to be given to the ensuing session, might have good effects, and your absence might be liable to misinterpretations.

"I told him I would have let you know his opinion, if there had been time sufficient for you to come to town upon it before the Parliament met: but it was then past ten o'clock on Sunday night. In talking about the future operations of the session, he often said there was nothing to be done by *squibs;* that Lord Hardwicke understood nothing of the affairs of Portugal: that it was not so clear as he supposed that any thing had been done there in direct breach of treaties; that Urello had offered to negotiate last year, but could not get an audience, or any attention from our ministers upon that subject.

"That something might arise from the quarter of America, but yet no opposition would signify any thing, if the ministers held together. That the King mediated between them, and kept them from breaking: that he was the most *efficient* man among them, that he made each of them believe he was in love with them, and fooled them all. That unless that *mad man* Lord Chatham should come and throw a *fire-ball* in

the midst of them, he thought they would stand their ground: but what *that* might do he could not tell. That Lord Bute alone could make a ministry which would last, that if he was dead no other man could do it so well. That he (Bute) had just causes of complaint against Mr. Grenville, but was much less his enemy than Lord Rockingham, or Mr. Conway, or Lord Camden, or Lord Holland. 1767.

" Speaking of the late negotiation for a change in the ministry, he exprest great contempt of the manner of carrying it on, so publickly, and with such numbers admitted to the conferences. He said Lord Rockingham was a fool not to humour the Duke of Bedford in all he desired, after you and your brother had declared you would not come in; and that part of the Court which had set this treaty on foot should have boggled at nothing, from that time, to bring it to a conclusion; because the Bedford connexion once in without you two, would have remained separated from you, of which he was more sure, as the Duke of Bedford himself had told him, after Rigby's return from Stowe, that if a ministry should be formed, and you did not both keep your promise to support it out of office, he would tie you down to your honour given, or quite detach himself from you, and adhere firmly to them. But of all things Lord Mansfield exclaimed against the madness of his Grace in conjunction with Lord Rockingham, proposing *a sweep of the Court*, to the extent that they did, and much lamented that your Lordship had permitted Rigby to express your consent and concurrence in so wild a scheme;

1767. which had been reported at Court, and had certainly done you great harm. I said I understood you were passive, not active, in that scheme, and, that you might not think it for your honour to protect Lord Bute or his friends, when others proposed to destroy them, though you did not propose it yourself. He replied it was understood to have been no less agreeable to you than to them: and then dwelt a good deal on the certainty of a fixed resolution in the King not to change *his army*, but only the *generals* of that army. That to force him from this resolution would be exceedingly difficult in any conjuncture, but impossible at this time; and if it could be effected, would in the end ruin those who should put that force upon him. That he thought if the present ministry should fall to pieces by their own internal weakness or divisions, and another were to be formed, the king should be left to choose who should be at the head of it; and if you or your brother were proposed, Lord Rockingham should desire his friends to go in; and if he was preferred, you should do the same by yours. On my saying, that I would not be one of those friends, he expressed some dislike of that determination, especially as I carried it not only to Lord Rockingham's, but to any other ministry of which you were not a part. However, he afterwards confined his idea of such coalition to inferior friends on both sides, who might be more eager to go in than I, and would not think themselves under the same restraints. He spoke a good deal upon the king's disgust against G. Grenville, which he seemed to think

not quite groundless, and took occasion, in talking upon the state of our colonies, to observe to me what great difficulties he (Grenville) would be under if he were now to be minister, with relation to *them*; and how eligible, how desirable, it was for him, that some other man should take the necessary measures to set things right there. That every step he could take would raise a violent flame and meet with much more resistance, both there and in this kingdom, than the same measure undertaken by any other minister. 1767.

These were the most material parts of a conversation that lasted till after one in the morning. During the course of it, he said, that he found in all parties a general good disposition and kindness towards me, but that those who were averse to your brother's being placed at the head of the treasury were no better disposed towards you. He seemed very desirous that the present ministry should not continue, but equally unwilling that the king should be forced to remove them; full of contempt for Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond, of hatred to Lord Chatham and all his friends, and of managements for Lord Bute, without much esteem of him or affection for him. I tried to draw from him what had passed in his two conversations with the king: he said the king's talk to him was gracious, but loose and inconclusive. He assured your brother, *upon his honour*, that nothing important had past. I understand he has much credit with the Dukes of Bedford and Newcastle, yet perhaps less than he thinks. His great use to our party is in the House of Lords; for in his intrigues he is warped by many different views, by managements for various

1767. connections, by a great attention to the closet, and by the uncertainty, the timidity, and over-refining turn of his mind.

I am next to give your lordship an account of my conference with the Duke of Bedford, which, after the usual chit chat, his grace began by saying, that Lord Rockingham was stark mad, for he had told the Duke of Bridgewater, who talked to him about a union with his friends, *that he would hear of nothing in which there was a Grenville.* He then entered into some detail of what had passed in the summer, and on my observing that even then his Lordship had in effect excluded the Grenvilles, by proposing to be himself at the head of the Treasury, and that he only now spoke more plainly what he always intended, his Grace replied, that his own scheme was to have balanced the power of Lord Rockingham and his friends in the ministry to be formed, by many friends of the Grenvilles, and some in the highest offices, particularly myself, whom he meant to propose for President of the Council, the power of which office he said was now very great. That on this he would have insisted, but that in this second meeting he found the Marquis quite changed from what he had been in the first. I exprest a proper sense of the honour his Grace had done me, but said that in my opinion things had ended much better by the treaty breaking off, as such a ministry could not long have held together. He said he meant to have been a mediator between them in any differences or disputes that might have arisen among them, and hoped his mediation might have been effectual. That he presumed Mr. Grenville would not think at this

time of reviving the Stamp Act, and that he himself should prefer making an example of some one seditious fellow in the colonies, who could be convicted of eminently distinguishing himself in opposition to the laws and sovereignty of Great Britain, by which others would be deterred from acts of that nature, to Mr. Grenville's test, or any other measure that might unite all the colonies in one common cause. I answered that the test proposed by Mr. Grenville could unite none in opposition to it, who were not already united in a determined opposition to the cause of Great Britain, which his Grace resolved to support, and something effectual must be done or it could not be supported. 1767.

"LYTTELTON.

"London, November 25th, 1767."

About this time Frederic Augustus II. King of Poland closed his disastrous reign, and Catherine the Second procured, by intrigue and violence, the election of her lover, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, to the throne of that kingdom—one of those unprincipled nobles of this most unhappy country, who bought the patronage of St. Petersburg by shameless treachery to Warsaw. The new King had been an old acquaintance of Lyttelton's, who wrote to him on this occasion, and received for answer the following letter:—

"le 21 Novembre, 1767.

"My Lord Comte Lyttelton,—La part que vous prenez, my Lord, à mon elevation presente me flatte d'autant plus, qu'elle me rappelle l'accueil que j'ai recu de vous il y a dix ans, lorsque j'avais le bonheur de

1767. m'instruire dans votre Patrie, et dans la conversation du legislateur des Troglodites.* Je me trouverai heureux de pouvoir appliquer avec succes dans l'exercice de ma place les notions si sages et si vertueux que j'ai puisée dans votre entretien, et dont les souvenir vous assure les sentimens d'estime et d'amitié, dans lesquels je suis my Lord Comte de Lyttelton.

"Votre tres affectionné,

"STANISLAS AUGUSTE ROY."†

A letter from Mr. Harris‡ accompanied this royal despatch; it contains a slight sketch of the wretched state of Poland, torn by intestine licentiousness, and the helpless prey of foreign rapine.

"Warsaw, November 21st, 1767.

"MY LORD,

"I HAD the honour of receiving your letter some few posts after my arrival here, and had almost the same day an opportunity of delivering your message to the King. He expressed great satisfaction at hearing it, and seemed to feel all that pleasure a sensible man must have in being recollected by a man of your Lordship's character.

* See the Persian Letters, x—xxi. and vol. i. p. 56.

† The cover is directed, 'A My Lord Comte de Lyttelton, A Londres.'

‡ Son of James Harris, the justly celebrated philologer, who had been also successively a Lord of the Admiralty and the Treasury, and Comptroller of the Household to Queen Anne. His son and heir, the writer of this letter, having acquired a considerable diplomatic reputation at the courts of Madrid, St. Petersburgh, and the Hague, was created Baron Malmesbury in 1788; Viscount Fitzharris and Earl of Malmesbury in 1800. He died in 1820.

"You have, without doubt, been sufficiently informed 1767.
of the turbulent state of this unfortunate kingdom, till the meeting of the present Diet. The great internal confederation that menaced intestine discords at home, and the violent measures of the Court of Russia, are facts not unknown to you. Should I be the first in informing your Lordship of the step taken since, I shall esteem myself very happy. You will easily see that they are such as a free people never would have consented to, had it not been overawed by some superior power.

"The first day of the assembly, a project was proposed by Prince Radzivil, for the Diet proroguing itself till February, after having resigned the power of treating, and even concluding, to a certain number of deputies, who should then lay their determination before it, for their approbation. The singularity of such a proposal seemed to shock the whole house.

"The Bishop of Cracow and Kiovie were vehement in opposing it; and there appeared not the least probability of its being carried. The next day changed, however, the face of things; the unruly prelates being both hurried away by the Russian troops in the night, and the like fate being threatened to all those who should presume to imitate them, made it pass *nem. con.* Delegates were named, and the diet prorogued itself, keeping the insignificant right of approving, not of rejecting, the resolutions they should come to.

"This delegation has met twice, and sometimes oftener each week alternately, at the Primate's and

1767. Russian ambassador, and the day before yesterday it came to a final determination on the affair of the dissidents. It was resolved, that, in point of religion, they should be put on a perfect equality with the Catholick—should be left in a free and undisturbed possession of their churches, &c. &c., and be entitled to bury and christen, without soliciting the leave, and paying that enormous fee, as formerly, to the Bishop of the diocese. That they should also be capable of being selected as Nonces at the Dietines; of accepting all employments, as well those of emolument, as of civil duty; of being Ministers of State, Officers of the Crown, and even Senators. To leave, however, sufficient room to prove the other religion the predominant one, it was inserted, that the King must be chosen from among the Catholicks, and that if he married a Protestant, she should not be crowned. Moreover, from henceforward, any Catholick tempted by the advantages to forsake his religion, should not reap the benefit here allowed, but should be subject to the rigour of the former laws against the dissidents.

"These, and some few other articles have been their result till now; there remains to be settled some points relative to Courland, and some other subjects of smaller consequence. All things will be as Russia thinks proper, the fate of the poor Bishops having most effectually sealed up the mouths of the patriots.

"Voltaire has published a small pamphlet in defence of the Dissidents, and seems to have taken more pains to inform himself of the subject, and to make use of more argument, than he usually does; this will, as

they say, bring him a considerable pecuniary present from Russia, and perhaps the red riband. 1767.

They say, that soon ministers will be sent from hence to the foreign courts, which is a most necessary step for the republick to take; as at present, it is in the most complete ignorance of whatever passes in other countries.

"I beg pardon for having thus long trespassed on your Lordship's patience; I will fatigue it no more than in begging leave to subscribe myself, with the other most distinguished sentiments,

"My Lord,

"your Lordship's most obedient,

"and obliged faithful servant,

"J. HARRIS."

CHAPTER XVII.

1768 (MARCH)—1773 (AUGUST).

FROM THE MEETING OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT OF GEORGE III. TO THE DEATH OF LORD LYTTELTON.

[Hagley MSS.—Annual Register for each Year—Parliamentary History, vol. xvi.—Adolphus' History, vol. i. e. 1841—Chatham Correspondence, vol. iv.—Burke's Correspondence, vol. i.]

1768. On the 12th of March, the first Parliament of George the Third was dissolved. The dissatisfaction at its close, equalled, if it did not surpass, the satisfaction generally prevalent at its commencement. Such was the unpopularity of the Court, and the ministers, that it clothed with popular power any object of their dislike, even such a wretch as Wilkes, who reappeared in England about this time. Abroad, the honour of England had been ill sustained. France had been allowed, without a shadow of pretext, to seize upon the Papal territories of Avignon, and the Venaissin, and—what even the shadow of Pitt's name should have prevented * to annex to her

* "Though confined to your house (the King writes) your name has been sufficient to enable my administration to proceed."—Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 318.

dominions Corsica, struggling gallantly but in vain for national freedom. Lord Chatham, at the earnest request of the King, allowed the Privy Seal to be put in commission, when its possession entailed the necessary transactions of some business of which his infirmities rendered him incapable. But the dismissal of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, and Lord Shelburne, by the Duke of Grafton, added to the disgrace of the Corsican affair, determined him, in spite of the most urgent entreaties from the Crown and the Duke of Grafton, to resign on the 12th of October in this year.* 1768.

During the course of this year, Lyttelton seems to have been active in endeavouring to reunite the Grenville party with Lord Mansfield, while the Bedfords aware of the tottering state of the Government, cast

* "As for his Majesty, I always found every thing gracious and amiable in the closet; so amiably condescending, as a *promise* in every repeated audience, not only to forgive, but to supply the defects of health by his cheerful support, and by the ready assistance of all his immediate dependents, &c. Instead of this, the obstacles and difficulties which attended every great and public measure, did not arise from those out of Government: they were suggested, nourished, and supported, by that secret influence I have mentioned, and by the industry of those very dependents; first, by secret treachery, then by public influence afterwards, in public councils. A long train of these practices has at length unwillingly convinced me, that there is something behind the throne greater than the King himself. As to the noble Duke, there was in his conduct, from the time of my being taken ill, a gradual deviation from every thing that had been settled, and solemnly agreed by His Grace, both as to measures and men: till at last there were not left two planks together of the ship which had been originally constructed."—Lord Chatham's Speech, 2nd March, 1770.

1768. their eyes towards the Rockingham party. The two following letters are among the MSS. of this year.

"Copy of my letter to Lord Mansfield.

"June 9th, 1766.

"My dear Lord,

"At going out of town, I beg leave to trouble you with a few more *last words*. If things should work to a change, and there should be a desire of bringing in the Grenvilles, I think it would be better to apply to Lord Temple than to his brother; because, if he is not satisfied, his brother, I am sure, will not come in: and because, in this crisis, the offer of the first post in the Administration to him, would do more to lay the ferment in the minds of the people, than the making it to his brother, or any other person in the whole nation. What means would be necessary to incline him to accept of such an offer, if made, your Lordship's sagacity will enable you to judge much better than I can. Certainly he will not be willing to lose his credit with the people for the sake of coming in; nor would it be for the King's service that he should; but a sober use of that credit may do much good, and I know he is disposed to consider all the delicacies of his brother's situation, as well as of his own. Nor is he insensible of what the King's honour may require, as things are now circumstanced, nor unable to bring others to submit to his judgment. I will add, that a revival of just the old ministry of his brother, with the Bedfords, would not at present give to Government that strength and authority it so much

wants. Your Lordship will make what use you please of these hints, if you see a time when you think they may be useful, or keep them only between you, and 1768.

"Your most affectionate, &c.

"LYTTELTON."

FROM LORD TEMPLE TO LYTTELTON.

"Stowe, Sunday morn, Aug. 14th, 1768.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have hitherto left your Lordship's last letter unanswered, having nothing to write worth your attention; and though the same reason still subsists, yet cannot I find in my heart to let the Grenville cargo depart for Hagley, without bearing along with them a testimonial, under my hand, of my kindest regard for all Fairy Land, and the Apollo thereof, for Fairy Land has its Apollo as well as other regions. Four lines to Lady Elizabeth, and but two apiece to the others, is in my mind and heart strict poetical justice.

Now for Politics. I saw Ge.* yesterday, and upon comparing notes, I find the whole of all intelligence amounts substantially to just nothing. Lord Egmont, however, has, I believe, certainly been offered Shelburne's place, which he has certainly refused, saying that he delighted not in dancing upon the ropes, but should be happy to serve the King whenever Government shall be placed upon a solid ground. It is also said, that Lord Halifax has been offered the same, and refused; if true, these are mortal symptoms, especially as it is most confidently asserted that the Duke of Grafton has declared to his brother ministers

* So in the original.

1768. how much he is averse to continuing; and that Bradshaw has said to the friend of my informer, that no consideration will make His Grace continue another year. It is said, he, the Duke, recommends Lord North to succeed him. Thus have I daubed my paper with a sufficient quantity of doubtful nonsense to make a decent epistle; there remains only for me to add one assertion of absolute certainty, which is, that I remain with the warmest affection, ever, my dearest Lord's most devoted

"TEMPLE."

The state of the Colonies had become most alarming. The ministry had passed Acts of Parliament, laying duties on certain articles of commerce exported to America; but now, this hitherto unquestioned right, of imposing what were called external taxes, was denied. The province of Massachusetts took the lead in opposing these measures. Parliament met in December, and votes of censure on the Americans, and various resolutions were proposed in the Lords, carried without a division, and sent down to the Commons. The conduct of Lyttelton and his friends appears from the Hardwicke MSS:—"Lord Temple declared that he thought them all nugatory—a paper war with the Colonies—and then went out of the House." "Lord Lyttelton, and Lord Mansfield, were not there; the Lord Chancellor was silent." Before the close of the year Lord Chatham was reconciled to Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville.

The debates in the Commons on the American

resolutions, the expulsion and re-election of Wilkes, 1769.
the Middlesex Riots, the phænomenon of Junius, in fact, no matter of public importance during this year, derives any light from the Hagley MSS. In July, the Administration were scared by the sudden appearance of Lord Chatham at St. James'. He remained for twenty minutes in the Royal closet, and was graciously received.

Parliament met on the 9th of January.

The King's Speech begun with an allusion to a recent distemper among horned cattle, and ended with a recommendation to both Houses to avoid heats and animosities among themselves; it was unsparingly ridiculed, and the Session was nicknamed the *Horned Cattle Session*. Lord Chatham's vigorous opposition to the Address, proved the reality of his resurrection to life and energy; speaking, in answer to Lord Mansfield, on the proceedings of the House of Commons, with respect to the Middlesex Election, he said, "Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination; it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but leads to its own destruction. It is what my noble friend (Lord Lyttelton) has truly described it, '*Res detestabilis et caduca.*'" There is no other trace of Lyttelton's speech in this debate. The union between Lord Chatham, the Grenvilles, and Lyttelton, and the Rockinghams, was now cemented, and so* it was afterwards formally announced to be by Lord Chatham in the House of Lords. In this debate, Lord Chan-

* In his speech on the 22nd of January.

1770. cellor Camden, declaring that he had accepted the seals without conditions, and that he had been trammelled too long, applauded all that had fallen from Lord Chatham, and accused the ministry of conspiring against the liberties of the country.

On the 15th of January, Lord Rockingham gave notice, that he had a motion of great importance to make, and moved, "that all the Lords be summoned on the 17th instant." Lord Weymouth moved to adjourn to the 22nd; a debate arose, and on a division the adjournment was carried; but a strong protest was entered, alluding to the adjournment having for its object "the removal of the Lord Chancellor of England, the speaker of this House," on account "of the part so honourable to himself, but perhaps so offensive to administration, which that noble Lord had taken, the first day of this session." The difficulty of supplying his place was very great. After most urgent personal entreaties from the King, Mr. Yorke, the great Lord Hardwicke's second son, accepted the seals, which his abilities and reputation well entitled him to hold. The accomplishment of his ambition was, however, fatal to this distinguished person. The conflict of his feelings produced a derangement of mind, to which his life became a victim. On the one hand was the natural and laudable anxiety to obtain the unprecedented honour of succeeding his father on the woolsack, and the difficulty of resisting the urgent importunities of his Sovereign; and on the other, was the repugnance to join an Administration of whose conduct and principles he disapproved. He fell by his own hands three

days after he had received the Great Seal, and before his patent of Baron Morden of Morden, in Cambridgeshire, was completed. To these circumstances Lord Rockingham alluded in the following letter: — 1770.

"Jan. 20th, 1770.

"My dear Lord,

"I did myself the honour of calling upon your Lordship this morning, and wished to have been lucky enough to find you at home, that I might shew you the enclosed sketch of a Protest, and which I should desire your Lordship to shew to Lord Temple, for in some parts, I imagine, it will require correction. I am not sure, also, whether the allusion to what passed in *the House of Lords on the first day* of the session, is not irregular.

"I am, with great difficulty, my dear Lord, got thus far in my letter relative to the business which presses. The Duke of Richmond went out of town, and will be back to-morrow. He had undertaken this matter, or I would have communicated earlier. The event of this evening has affected me to the greatest degree. Your Lordship knows what I must feel, most probably from your own feelings. In truth, my good Lord, abstracted from every political idea, the happiness of life consists in private friendships, and howsoever different ideas, or even principles in politicks, may estrange men, yet I hope my dear Lord, that there may be an honourable distinction, in feeling even the calamities attending private friendships; and at the same time, that I may adhere to those principles of

1770. public honour in politicks, which will not always allow personal private friendships to operate on the mind.

"I should be glad of the honour of seeing your Lordship to-morrow morning. I am much agitated, and I hardly know whether I shall be able to proceed so early as Monday.

"I am, my Lord,
"with great truth and regard,
"your Lordship's
"most obedient and humble servant,
"ROCKINGHAM.

"Grosvenor Square, Jan. 20th, 1770.
Saturday night, near 9 o'clock."

On the 22nd of January, Lord Rockingham brought in his motion: he ascribed the general discontent not to any temporary cause, but to one which had grown upon us by degrees ever since His Majesty's accession,—"That the persons in whom His Majesty had confided had introduced a total change in the old system of English Government;—that they had adopted a maxim which must prove fatal to the liberties of this country, viz: that the Royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support Government, to whatever hands the Administration should be committed." America, Corsica, the Civil List, were all included in the objects of his censure. The Duke of Grafton replied, and was answered by Lord Chatham in a speech of all his former vigour and effect. The House agreed to the 24th day of January for taking into consideration

the State of the Nation, but the motion was adjourned 1770.
to the 2nd of February: but before that time, to the surprise of the world, the Duke of Grafton resigned the premiership. Lord Granby and Dunning also deserted the Government.

George the Third had sat ten years upon the throne when he dismissed his sixth Administration;* the seventh was now organized by Lord North —celebrated for its duration of twelve years, and for the mighty revolution, the herald of so many great events to the civilized globe, which happened during this long period of misgovernment,—during which the foreign empire of Great Britain was rent in twain, while at home the pillars of her constitution were shaken to their foundation; the constituent body jarring with the representative, and the people learning that lesson, fatal to the liberty of mixed governments, of looking elsewhere than to Parliament for the support of their rights and the redress of their grievances.

The opposition took up warmly the question of the power of the House of Commons to incapacitate a member from being elected, as they had done in the case of Wilkes; and on the 2nd of February, Lord Rockingham brought in a Resolution condemnatory of this act, in which he was strenuously supported by Lord Chatham.

* Prime Ministers, 1760-70.—Mr. Pitt, at the accession of George the Third, October, 1760; Earl Bute, 1761; Mr. Grenville, 1763; Marquess of Rockingham, 1765; Earl Chatham, 1766; Duke of Grafton, 1768; Lord North, 1770.

1770. The following fragment of Lyttelton's speech on this occasion is preserved among the Hagley MSS.

"On the Question of the Middlesex Election, anno 1770.

"My Lords,

"I am very glad that some digression has been made from the question, because it has given an opportunity to a noble and learned Lord,* to state the truth of certain facts which I find have been grossly misrepresented, and which are exceedingly interesting, not only to those who love and honour his Lordship (as I am proud to say I do), but also to the whole community of this nation, deeply concerned in the wisdom and rectitude of his conduct, which has always hitherto, and I dare be confident always will, come out the brighter for having been aspersed and questioned. Whether the fixed rules of law and judicial proceedings, relating to libels, are just as a lover of liberty would desire I have my doubts: but of this I am sure, that a judge upon the bench must conform himself to them; his duty and his oath require him to do so, till the legislature shall tell him that they are not to be observed. As for the question before us; after all the united powers of eloquence, reason, and learning, have been exhausted in this and former debates on this subject, through the whole course of last session, I would not trouble your Lordships upon it now, if I considered this motion in

* Lord Mansfield.

any other light than as merely renewing a claim of right for the people. I could heartily wish no occasion had ever been given to agitate this question. It would have been better for the Parliament and better for the people, that the utmost limits of their rights with relation to each other had not been brought into debate. But that veil, which prudence kept over a most undesirable and most unhappy dispute, the rash and violent hand of angry passion has torn. The point has been discussed; it was necessary for me to take my part upon it, and when I took it, after long and most impartial deliberation, I took it for my life. Questions of expediency change from year to year; but constitutional principles can never change, so long as the Constitution itself exists. If such principles should be rendered as flexible and as subject to occasional variations as the measures of a Government, or the measures of a party, this kingdom would soon be irrecoverably enslaved; but while it continues to preserve its freedom, these great fundamental truths, *that no power, except that of the whole legislature, can in any manner create a new incapacity*, and *that every legal right which the subject enjoys, is secured to him by that law from whence he derived it*, must ever remain in full force. No resolution of one House, or both Houses of Parliament, can weaken that force; no length of time can wear it out. 1770.

"As for the utility of renewing this claim at this time, I can only say to your Lordships, that the people must not think their rights are forgotten, when their strongest efforts may be wanting

1770. for the defence of a country endeared to them by those rights. I had rather the two Houses should quarrel with each other than the nation with them both. To prevent the bad effects of an increasing distrust and despondency in the people, at this important conjuncture, is well worth our endeavours; though I must own I conceive so very little hope of doing good to this country in the present state of things; I see it so disunited, so deprived of all system, and of all materials out of which a system can be formed, so ill prepared to contend with innumerable difficulties, internal and external; so weakened by the loss, the most deplorable loss, of one of its ablest supports,* which the hand of Providence has thrown down when our need of it was greatest;—that I am convinced even those who are most called by their talents into publick action, have much more to hold them back than encourage them to go on. For my own part, I well know to how very narrow a sphere my poor abilities are, and probably will be, confined for the short remainder of my life. But I will endeavour to act within that narrow sphere consistently with myself: I will depart from no principle I have ever declared: I will retain moderation without losing . . . . ."

Lyttelton's name appears also in the long Protests which took place on this occasion; and when on the first of May, Lord Chatham brought in a Bill for reversing the adjudication of the House of Commons against Wilkes, it was supported by Lord Temple, Lyttelton, and the Duke of Richmond, who afterwards

* Mr. Grenville.

signed a Protest against its rejection. Lyttelton's name 1770.
appears again in a minority on the same Lord's motion, touching the King's answer to the remonstrance of the city of London.

The session closed on the 19th of May, after the opposition had proposed a set of resolutions in which the whole ministerial system with relation to America for several years past, was considered: all these resolutions were rejected; the Administration contriving to get rid of a troublesome question, without entering much into a discussion or refutation of the charges brought against them.

Before Parliament met again, the seizure of the Falkland Islands (Isles Malouines), by the Spaniards, had raised a great outcry against the Government. It was truly said by Johnson* "that of which we were almost weary ourselves we did not expect any one to envy." No possessions could be of less value than these unproductive spots in the Atlantic, in which weak settlements were supported by remittances from England. But the insult was not less on this account, and was clearly premeditated. The Government, however, do not appear to the impartial observer of this day to have been remiss in seeking or obtaining ample reparation.

On the 22nd of November, the Duke of Richmond moved for an Address to the Crown for the production of all papers received by the Ministry between the 12th of September 1769 and the 12th September 1770. He was supported by a brilliant declamation from Lord

* See his "Thoughts on the late transactions respecting the Falkland Islands."

1770. Chatham, who reminded the House that when Mr. Grenville was Prime Minister, and the French took possession of Tortuga,* he did not negotiate, but made a peremptory demand, and despatched a courier to Paris, who returned in a few days with orders for instant restitution, not only of the island, but of all effects belonging to the English. He ended by warning them of their danger—"if they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads—if by a compromise they should stain the honour of the Crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to their consciences and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety."

Lyttelton spoke on the same side, with the Duke of Manchester, Lords Rockingham and Gower. The motion was of course defeated. Captain Hunt of the Tamer brought to England the news of the seizure of these islands. After the failure of the Duke of Richmond's motion, Lord Chatham, with the sanction of Lord Rockingham, made two motions for the examination of Captain Hunt. He wrote to Lyttelton.

"Hayes, Tuesday night.

"My dear Lord,

"I hardly know how to take the liberty I am doing: and as little to let it alone. I intend to-morrow to move for Captain Hunt, who came home in the Tamer, the beginning of June, to attend the Lords; perhaps, too, I may add something relative to the vigilance and activity of Government about Falkland's Island.

* Turk's Island in the West Indies, 1764.

I do not presume to desire your appearance, otherwise than as the thing may be totally to your Lordship's own interior satisfaction of mind. The country is on the brink of a precipice; and my ideas may go beyond the notions of some in point of prudence; but if I err, it is upon cool reflection. The veil must be stript which covers the supine neglect, or wicked treachery of the Court; and Government be awakened and stimulated to our defence; or something will come, like that woe-begone figure which drew "Priam's curtain in the dead of night, and would have told him half his Troy was burnt, but Priam found the fire e'er he his tongue. 1770.

"Decrepit age may sleep and be excusable, but youth steep'd in sloth, and arming itself with nothing but insensibility and obduracy, is the consummation of what wants a name.

"I am, with sincere and affectionate esteem,
"My dear Lord,
"your Lordship's most obedient
"and most humble servant,
"CHATHAM."

On a motion for examining Captain Hunt at the bar, and on another relative to the same subject, Lord Chatham was defeated. His opposition had never been fiercer against any Government, nor had it ever been sustained by greater displays of eloquence—that eloquence which three years ago neither friend nor foe had ever expected to hear again. But Lord North's Government, apparently of so frail a texture and exposed to such vehement assaults, received

1771. about this time an accession of strength upon which no one had calculated. The death of Mr. Grenville* not only removed a most formidable adversary, but broke up the band which his abilities and character held together, and which formed one of the most powerful sections of the opposition. Many of Mr. Grenville's adherents joined the Government† in the ensuing year; at the early part of which Lord Weymouth's seals were given to Lord Rochford; Mr. Bathurst became Baron Apsley and Lord Chancellor; Thurlow, Attorney, and Wedderburne Solicitor General. The defection of the latter from his party was deeply felt and much resented, and henceforth we find Lord Chatham's correspondence teeming with complaints of the moderation of Lord Rockingham, and the "no-plan of Lord Temple."

The political history of this year is chiefly occupied with contests between the House of Commons, and the City of London, arising out of an order of the former to arrest certain printers, guilty of a breach of privilege, by having published the debates.‡ The magistrates of the City were not contented with resisting an illegal proclamation, which had been most foolishly

* He died 13th November, 1770.

† See the violent attack on Mr. Whately, Mr. Grenville's private secretary, in Junius. "Mr. Grenville, your friend, your patron, your benefactor, who raised you from a depth compared to which even Bradshaw's family stands on an eminence, was hardly cold in his grave when you solicited the office of go-between to Lord North," &c. &c.—vol. iii. p. 310.

‡ The mismanagement, and abortive nature of these proceedings, emboldened, instead of intimidating the printers, and from this period is to be dated the open printing of the votes.

obtained from the Crown, and which offered a reward to 1771.
those who apprehended the offenders against the privileges of the House of Commons, but in the course of the contest they put themselves so clearly and entirely in the wrong, that Lord Chatham, and those who acted with him, were far more embarrassed than aided by the tumults excited against the Government.*

The correspondence of Lord Chatham, with Lord Temple and Lord Shelburne, at this time, contains indisputable proof of the high estimation in which Lyttelton's character was held:—

"Allow a spectator (Lord Chatham writes in the April of this year to Lord Temple) in a great chair, to add, that a plan for a more equal representation, by additional Knights of the Shire, seems highly seasonable, and to shorten the duration† of Parliament not less so. If your Lordship should approve, *could Lord*

* In January, 1770, Lord Chatham writes to Lord Shelburne, "A headlong self-willed spirit has sunk the City into nothing. Attempting powers it has no colour of right to, it has lost the weight to which it was entitled."

"The Corporation of London," Arnold observes, "could not pretend to be a national, but merely a local body; and London has never exercised such an influence over the country, as that the chief magistrate of London should be recognised as the popular leader of England. The popular party, then, as I have said before, having no official organ, spoke as it best could through self-appointed individuals, and through the press."—Lecture VII.

† This extract of Lord Chatham's letter was read at a Common Council, held at Guildhall, on the 9th of April, 1780, and ordered to be entered on the Journals of the Court.—Note to p. 155 of vol. iv. of Chatham Correspondence.

1771. *Lyttelton's discretion be brought to taste those ideas,* we should take possession of strong ground, let who will decline to follow us."

The two points mentioned in this letter were at this period warmly advocated by Lord Chatham. There was also another subject of more immediate application, on which he was most urgent:—a motion for the dissolution of the Parliament at the close of the session; and on this matter, also, he appears to have been most anxious for Lyttelton's support and concurrence. "What Lord Lyttelton (writes Lord Temple) may be induced to do, I cannot with any precision say." And Lord Chatham writes to Lord Shelburne, "My letters are doomed to be tidings of ill to the public. I learnt yesterday that Lord Lyttelton is totally averse to attending a motion for dissolution. I have the mortification to hear from Lord Camden that he disapproves, and cannot attend it. I found in the Duke of Northumberland no inclination to such a motion, or expectation of support from others, though to do His Grace justice, full himself of right and worthy dispositions towards the constitution and public welfare. I need not say that we have little support to expect from the other quarter of opposition." In a former letter he had complained, that "the narrow genius of old-corps' connection, has weakened whiggism, and rendered national union, on revolution principles, impossible."

Every day proved the value of Mr. Grenville's character and services, in the difficult art of heartening and keeping together a party, restraining at the same time individuals from making desultory attacks in

which the whole party could not be induced to join, and which are the rocks on which most oppositions make shipwreck. Noman, perhaps, ever lived, better skilled than Lord Chatham, to sound in Parliamentary debate that trumpet which kindles war by its blast, and stirs the hearers to conflict; but his characteristic excellence in this respect, was purchased at the price of a failure in the other qualifications of the leader of a party. In the times of necessary inactivity, when there was no opening for an attack, he seems to have been incapable of restraint, and intolerant to those, who like Lord Camden, departed, though with painful reluctance, from the measures which he propounded for their adoption. 1771.

On the 30th of April, the question of the Middlesex Election was again brought before the House of Lords, by the Duke of Richmond. With the full concurrence of the Rockingham party, he moved, "That the resolution of this House, of the 2nd of February, 1770, 'that any resolution of this House, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional rights of the Commons, tends to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leads to great confusion,' be expunged." Lord Chatham strenuously supported the measure, saying, "our forefathers exercised the right in the case of Ashby and White, and received the applause of the whole nation." After a long debate, the motion was rejected by 55 against 35.

1771. On the 1st of May, Lord Chatham moved an Address to the King, to dissolve the Parliament after the end of the session, and to call a new one with convenient dispatch. He supported this by a speech of great eloquence, containing a general attack on the administration. The debate lasted till a late hour, when the motion was negatived by 72 against 23. The session ended on the 8th of May.

About this time the heir at law to Burton Pynsent, made an attempt to set aside the will which bequeathed that property to Lord Chatham. The attempt was unsuccessful. On the 7th of May, Lord Chatham writes to Lyttelton from Hayes:—

"Hayes, Tuesday, May 7th, 1771.

"I NEED not use many words, my dear Lord, to persuade you of my present satisfaction on the events of my cause: allow me to hope that as few are necessary to assure your Lordship, that the kind joy you are so good to express on the occasion, sweetens and ennobles my own pleasure, in a success not a little interesting to my children. Your Lordship will, I believe, give me credit for a kind of sentiment which renders the unanimity of the judges, in my sight, very affecting. To have what one thinks one's own, is well; to have all the world think so too, is a source of higher satisfaction. I had not heard of the new light thrown upon my cause by Lord Mansfield. Sagacity, I well know, to be his peculiar gift; and justice, I could not doubt, to be his virtue. Lady Chatham desires to present her best compliments, and sincere

thanks to your Lordship, for the kind part you take in our success. 1771

"Believe me, with truest esteem and affection,
"My dear Lord,
"your most faithful friend, and
"humble servant,
"CHATHAM."

During the recess Lord Halifax died, and Lord Suffolk succeeded to his Secretaryship of State. The Duke of Grafton accepted the Privy Seal, which Lord Suffolk had held; and Lord Hyde, the Chancellorship of the Duchy, vacant by the death of Lord Strange. The Government was strengthened by these changes, while the opposition became daily weaker.

In the summer of 1771, the Duke of Cumberland, one of the King's brothers, had privately married Mrs. Horton, widow of Christopher Horton, Esq of Cotton Hall, in the County of Derby, and daughter of Lord Irnham. The King forbad them the Court: nevertheless, in the early part of 1772, the Duke of Gloucester avowed his marriage with the Countess Dowager of Waldegrave, whom he had espoused in 1766. These proceedings produced the famous Royal Marriage Act. On the 21st of February, Lord Rochford introduced "an Act for the better regulating the future marriages of the Royal Family," which made it unlawful for any descendants of George the Second, being the grandchildren and presumptive heirs of the reigning King, male and female (other than the issue of Princesses who have married, or may hereafter marry

1772. into foreign families), to marry without the previous consent of the King, and his successors; unless being of the age of twenty-five, they should give notice to the Privy Council, twelve months before, of their intention to contract marriage; and unless, during that time, both Houses of Parliament should expressly declare their disapprobation of such intended marriage. The measure met with a fierce opposition in both Houses of Parliament. Lord Chatham condemned it. Lords Rockingham, Camden, and Lyttelton, opposed it. Questions were put to the Judges as to the King's prerogative, with respect to the education and marriage of the Royal Family; and the proceedings in 1718 were referred to. A very well written abstract of the arguments is to be found in the Annual Register; but unfortunately scarcely any trace of this important debate is preserved, and I can only surmise from the following letters that Lyttelton took an active part in it.

"Feb. 28th, 1772.

"My Lord,

"When your Lordship asked me in the House of Lords this evening, whether we had thought of any *line* to draw relative to the extent of who was to be included under the *description of Royal Family*, I answered your Lordship, that I rather thought it might be *too difficult* to draw. I expect, to-morrow, some friends to dine here, and some to come in the evening. I shall have some good *law* advice, so that some idea may be formed. I am inclined to think, that if we

take the *line* precisely drawn by the Judges, we may be well able to defend it, from the advantage we shall have in debate, by asserting that it is the *extent* of what the present judges, in their opinion, can go to. If the friends of a more diffusive power object to a *line so* drawn, as being too limited, we may well urge, that for the *present*, and probably for a *long* time, this line may answer every purpose of restraining the very near of kin to the Crown, from marrying without the Crown's consent, till they are of those years of discretion, which ultimately the Bill may fix. 1772.

Whenever, from fatality, the actual state of the *persons* under that description become too few, the Crown may again apply, and Parliament may again (if they think proper,) extend the *line*. I have some doubt, whether the line drawn in the Statute of Precedence, drawn in 31st, H. 8th, would not have been a better line, adding also to it the *presumptive heir*. But then we go further than the present judges have authorised us. I should be much obliged to your Lordship, if you would give the matter a consideration; and if you could communicate to me your Lordship's thoughts to-morrow, at any time before dinner, I might be the better informed, and of course the better able to judge afterwards, what line may be best to draw. I was quite exhausted in the end of the debates of this evening: indeed my old stomach complaints never fail visiting me when I sit long in the House of Lords, and am obliged to take any part in debate, which always agitates my mind exceedingly. I am much better now, and had the satisfaction, when

1772. I came home, of finding Lady Rockingham arrived in very good health.

"I have the honour to be,
"my Lord,
"with great truth and regard,
"your Lordship's most obedient,
"and most humble servant,
"ROCKINGHAM."

"Friday night, near 12 o'clock,
Feb. y^e^ 28th, 1772."

"March 3rd, 1772.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"IT gave me much pleasure this morning, to hear that your Lordship was quite well. I own I infinitely regret that your Lordship was unable to go on, in the course of the argument which you had so happily and ably begun; and indeed I cannot but still wish, both for my own private satisfaction, and also the information of the Lords, that somehow, your Lordship might again take up that very essential line of argument. I should have no objection to start something which might necessitate the Bishop of Gloucester to speak again. I should even not mind, whether I was or was not precisely correct in touching upon what fell from him, and which I truly think much wants explanation.

"I am ever, my dear Lord,
"your Lordship's most obedient,
"and humble servant,
"ROCKINGHAM.

"Grosvenor Square, Tuesday, 1 o'clock,
March y^e^ 3rd, 1772.

"Perhaps it would be still the best way, if your Lordship would even take up this matter entirely yourself." 1772.

The measure ultimately passed into a law,—but whether it has not been productive of more evil than it has prevented, to the Royal Family, and to the State, is a problem which I am not called upon to solve in this work.

Early in the year, Lyttelton received the following letter from Lord Chatham.

"Burton Pynsent, Feb. 16, 1772.

"My dear Lord,

"The sincere satisfaction I feel, on what I hear of Mr. Lyttelton's return, with all the dispositions you could wish, will not allow me to be silent, on so interesting an event. Accept my dear Lord, my felicitations upon these happy beginnings, together with every wish that this opening of light may ripen unto the perfect day. I know what it is (thank God) to be happy hitherto in my children; and I grieve for those who meet with essential disappointments in that vital part of domestick happiness. May you never again know anguish from such a wound to your comfort, but the remaining period of your days derive as much felicity from the return, as you suffered pain from the deviation. I have passed through a severe salutary fit of the gout, which has been making a kindly retreat for above this fortnight; and I am now again on my legs, your Lordship will not think I grow older, by

1772. finding me versifying. The inclosed paper will tell its own contents. I meant it should have followed you and Mr. Garrick to Hagley; but partly in doubt if it was worth the sending, and knowing your preparations for the fair ambassadress, it did not go; reading it again lately I have taken heart (and it asks not a little) to send it to you, which is nothing less tremendous *than showing up to the doctor*. It is now, my dear Lord, at your disposal, and I shall esteem it equally a favour, if you will be so good to commit it to the flames, or give it to Mr. Garrick, as your Lordship may judge, *bona fide*, it deserves. I will only add that the verses suppose Mr. Garrick at Mount Edgecumbe, the better to adopt the answer. I know not yet when I shall set my face eastward: the metropolis is no inviting scene. The place where I am is as comfortable winter quarters as Hayes: the climate softer, the plough affords some amusement—my garden will soon give more, so perhaps the close of winter may still find me here among my evergreens, *æstatem increpitans seram zephyrosque morantes*. For the present, adieu, my dear Lord; and believe me always with true regard,

"Your very faithful,
"and affectionate humble Servant,
"CHATHAM."

The verses were in truth a very indifferent production: the writer described himself, and no doubt really believed himself to be one, with

"Ambition cured and an unpassioned mind."

Lyttelton's answer of thanks to this letter is printed in the Chatham correspondence.* On the 26th of June, Lyttelton's returned son married Apphia,† daughter of Mr. Broome Watts, of Chipping Norton, and widow of Joseph Peach, who had been Governor of Calcutta; it was an ill-omened marriage, and soon followed by a separation; but was hailed at the time by Lyttelton himself and all his friends, in the hope that it would effect a permanent change in the habits of Mr. Lyttelton. Lord Chatham wrote as follows:— 1772.

"Burton Pynsent, July 22, 1772.

"My dear Lord,

"I have a most longing wish to be able to be the bearer of warm felicitation to your Lordship and the happy pair, on the completion of an union, which knits you all together for life, in the sweet triple bonds of paternal, filial, conjugal love, and domestick happiness; may the virtues of your race guard the pious work, and fix the felicity of your family, that fortuna domûs et avi numerentur avorum! I could not but smile to hear that Cupid knew his Hagley for true Paphian ground, and had taught his slow brother Hymen, to mend his pace in so delightful a race, and am sure your Lordship more than forgave your flesh and blood this amiable impatience. From all I hear of Mrs. Lyttelton, I have not the least doubt that Hymen now will have his turn, and lead Love, for his inseparable companion. Lady Chatham desires to be in-

* Vol. iv. p. 195.

† She lived to a great old age, dying in April, 1840.

1772. cluded in the same cordial sentiments with myself, on whatever interests your Lordship's happiness, and that of your family. The young *dramatis personæ*, too, full of your Lordship's goodness to them, hope to be allowed to offer their compliments. I will now, my dear Lord, conclude where I began, by repeating how truly I wish to be with you at Hagley; but numberless occupations indispensably requiring me here the short remains of this summer, I am forced to postpone that satisfaction, and must place the waiting on your Lordship, in scenes early and long endeared, among my best pleasures to come. Believe me always with perfect esteem and affection,

"My dear Lord,

"your most faithful

"CHATHAM."

Lyttelton's answer is printed in the Chatham correspondence.* After expressing his disappointment at the postponement of Lord Chatham's visit to Hagley, he adds: "with how much regret we give it up, I can hardly express; and it grieves me the more, because my park is this year in a higher degree of beauty than I ever beheld it, and I think you would see it—especially all the environs of my house—with the same kind of pleasure as you would the full maturity of a fine child,† whom you had been fond of in his infancy, and had partly formed yourself, after several years of absence. You give me indeed the prospect of the favour of your company at some

* Vol. iv. p. 220. † See vol. i. p. 279.

future time; but alas! my dear Lord, before another summer comes, a high wind may blow down some of my finest old trees within the view of my house, or a cold wind may blow down me. 1772.

"However, I will trust that our destinies will permit us to meet again at this place in good health and good spirits, and that you will find all its beauties unimpaired."

Another summer came, but before it passed away the foreboding of the writer had come to pass—the cold wind had blown him down.

One of the various measures discussed in the House of Lords during the session, was a motion to repeal the Test Laws; it appears that Lyttelton spoke in favour of the Repeal. It had passed the Commons apparently with the full consent of the ministers, though there seems reason to suppose that they calculated on its being thrown out by the Bishops in the Lords—and this was the fate it met with; but it was warmly supported by Lyttelton, the Duke of Richmond, Lords Chatham and Shelburne. It was rejected by a majority of 102 to 29. I have not been able to discover the nature of the subject to which Lord Chatham refers, at the beginning of his next letter.

"Burton Pynsent, Oct. 22nd, 1772.

"My dear Lord,

"An excursion to Lyme, for the pleasure of sea views, occasioned my receiving your Lordship's kind letter some days later than its due course; the ex-

1772. pressions in my Lord Chancellor's* letter to your Lordship, on my subject, are extremely flattering, and I should be much obliged to your Lordship, if you would let my Lord Apsley know, on any proper opportunity, how much I feel the honour his Lordship does me, in giving any weight to my opinion on a matter not a little critical. I am extremely glad to learn the intention with regard to young Beckford; persuaded still more and more, from having had the pleasure of having him with us here for a week this summer; that the present plan for him interests no less the future welfare and figure of this fine boy, than the immediate happiness of the mother. I compute this will find your Lordship about your arrival at Stowe, where I hope you will be enjoying all the delight it abundantly affords, without any mixture in your thoughts of the unpleasant kind intimated towards the conclusion of your Lordship's letter. I fear the opportunity of further discourse on this, or other subjects must be at a greater distance than your Lordship had understood, as London, or its vicinity, does not enter into our plan for the winter; in the mean time, Lady Chatham and I are not undelighted to rock the *cradle of tragedy*, and have even ventured to

* Allen Bathurst was created Baron Bathurst in 1711, and Earl Bathurst in 1722. In 1771 his second son Henry (who afterwards succeeded to his father's title) being then one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, was made Lord High Chancellor, and created Baron Apsley. This double distinction of the father and the son is the subject of Burke's memorable panegyric and apostrophe in his speech on Conciliation with America in 1775.

wish that your Lordships was partaking with us in this parental amusement. Gout is beginning to threaten: if he kindly abstains for a time, the Cothurnus will very soon again display itself. Lady Chatham presents her best compliments to your Lordship, and the young tribe beg to offer theirs. 1772.

"I am ever, my dear Lord,
"Your Lordship's most faithful
"and affectionate humble Servant,
"CHATHAM.

"Please to present all loves at Stowe."

Towards the close of this year a portion of the Rockingham party were anxious to try the effect of *seceding*, as Wyndham* and others had done on the Spanish Convention in Sir R. Walpole's time, from their attendance in Parliament; but even those who were of this opinion were by no means agreed as to whether the secession should be *absolute*, and on some *definite measure*, or *partial*, and from *certain measures only*; however, according to Mr. Burke,† "the invincible repugnance" of Lords Temple, Lyttelton, and Camden, put an end to the scheme.

About the beginning of this year Stanislaus wrote again to Lyttelton. It would be difficult, if not impossible to conceive a country in a more deplorable state, than that in which Poland had been, since the last letter of Stanislaus to Lyttelton. It is due, however, to the former to say, that he made great efforts

* See vol. i. p. 120.

† See Burke's Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 358-9, and 378.

1772. to efface the infamy of the means which procured his elevation to the throne. He wielded well, in most respects, the power he had so ill acquired—confirming the abolition of the *liberum veto*—restraining the licence of the hetmans and grand marshalls, affording some encouragement to science and to commerce. But Poland was in an almost irretrievable state—it is the sad consolation of the lover of freedom, that she would probably have perished from the internal canker in her vitals, even if the vultures which surrounded her had been driven from their prey. The Dissidents, abetted by Russia, deprived of the few remaining rights left to them by former persecutors, waged destructive war with the Catholics, whose patroness was Austria. Some of the Anti-dissidents or Catholics formed a confederacy at Rov, and made an abortive attempt to carry off the King by violence. To this act allusion is made in the following letter—

"Warsaw, 18th Jan. 1772.

"My Lord Earl of Lyttelton,

"The letter by which you so friendly congratulated me on my escape of the 3rd of November last, did not reach my hands, before the 10th instant, by some impediments of the post, now so common in this unhappy country. I thank you with that inmost sense of gratitude, which is the effect equally of my great regard for your person and character, and of the persuasion, that your wishes in my favour, are not mere compliments, but the real desire of your noble heart. If Heaven deigns to continue and com-

plete the protection, which it has so wonderfully shown me, on that late occasion, I shall at last reap the fruits of the maxim, which I constantly pursued in spite of all difficulties, nunquam esse de republica desperandum. 1772.

" This I was teached among you Englishmen: may your goodwill and assistance, help me to the harbour, towards which I must tend, showing so dangerous cliffs on both sides. Though I know that I am not master of your language, I rather chuse to shew you, even by that, my partiality to all what is yours. Besides, I hope you will always perfectly understand, the sincere though incorrect expressions of the man, whose youth you have been pleased to instruct and adorn by your example and conversation, in that happy time of my life, when I was in your country. I owe and give you many thanks, for the kind reception you actually honour my nephew with. May he learn in England under your eyes, to become once a useful patriot of his own country. Farewell, my Lord, and may your life and happiness make long the joy of your friends and friend.

" STANISLAS AUGUST, R.

" A My Lord Comte de Lyttelton,
" a Londres."

Catherine the Second, Frederic the Second, and Maria Theresa (who at least might have learnt from suffering to pity the sufferer,) daily encroached more and more, under the various hackneyed pleas of tyranny, upon the Polish territories. Russia let loose upon them hordes of savages, whose acts of barbarous cruelty are too horrible

1772. to relate; while Prussia and Austria kept armies at free quarters upon this unhappy country. Towards the close of this year Russia disembarrassed herself of the Turkish war, and the detestable scheme of the confederates was ripe for execution; then was consummated that act of atrocious political iniquity, that fatal precedent, which recoiled upon its authors with such righteous retribution during the French Revolution, which England to her great disgrace tamely beheld, and of which to this day Europe feels the evils —then was effected the first partition of Poland. The next and last letter from Stanislaus to Lyttelton is written some months after this event.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE KING OF POLAND.

Mars. 18.

"Lorsqu'on dit qui'l n'a tenu que à moi de prevenir les malheurs dela Pologne en prenant les Dissidens sous ma protection quand j'ai êtè abandonnè par le parti Catholique, la veritè des faits est tres fort alterèe.

"Lorsqu'on m'accuse d'avoir fait une faute en refusant le commandement de l'armèe Russe il y a à repondre que lors de la declaration de guerre par les Turcs nous n'avions encore eprouvè de tyrannie politiqueque de la Russie. Les Turcs en se declarant cotre l'ouvrage de la Russie fait icy en 1767 ouvroient une esperance de seconer le joug imposè à la Pologne par la Russie. Si j'ai fait une faute politique en me refusant aux propositions, d'ailleurs pas bien claires, que Repnin m'a faites alors, je ne l'ai faite que par patriotisme, malgrè le danger personel auquel l'inimitiè des Turcs

declarèe contre moi même m'exposoit, l'exemple de Jean Sobieski trompè par les mêmes leurres me conseilloit la precaution. La conquête de la Vatachie et la Moldavie (supposè même que l'on eut voulu me les laisser, ce que la position actuelle contredit) seroit devenue pour les Turcs, et les puissances qui les soutenoient, un sujet eternel de guerre contre la Pologne, à laquelle cependant la Russie n'accordoit pas une force d'armèe nationale, ni une soliditè de gouvernement telle qu'il lui en fandroit pour se resoudre à se donner un ennemi redoubtable, tel que la Turquie. Vous me direz, mais cette même Turquie etoit deja votre ennemie declarèe. Elle ne l'etoit que contre moi personellement; et cela par une occasion momentanèe, et par la fougue insensèe du Vizir d'alors, qui en se declarant contre moi a agi contre l'avis de la france, qui lui representoit vainement que cela me forceroit justement à rester toujours dans une espece de dependance de la Russie. D'ailleurs Repnin ne m'offroit qu'une explication tres equivoque sur la garantie, et cependant comptoit me brouiller sans retour avec ma propre nation, et aigrir entierement les maisons de Bourbon, et d'Autriche contre moi, en me tentant du vain titre de Commandant de l'armie Russe. On a vu dans la personne de l'Empereur Charles vii de Baviere à quelles humiliations, à quels chagrins est reduit un Prince, qui avec un grand titre, et aucune puissance propre, accepte dans son propre päys le titre de generalissime des troupes d'un voisin tres puissant. Mais sur tout je vous repete que Repnin ne m'a fait accune proposition positive on claire. 1772.

" Quant à la troisieme assertion comme si j'avois fait

1772. des propositions secrettes au Roy de Prusse, elle est entïerement fausse:—je n'. y. ai jamais songè: vous pouver l'assurer hardiment.

"Mais ce que je vous prierois de dementir tont aussi fortement, ce sont les deux dernieres calomnies dont le Roy de Prusse cherche à me noircir; l'une que j'ai insinuè moi même aux Dantzigois de se rendre à lui; l'autre que je separe mes interêts d'avec ceux de l'etat. Je n'ai pas cessè au contraire d'encourager les Dantzigois de resister au Roy de Prusse: vous savez mieux que personne combien je travaille a leur procurer des secours. Vous pouvez assurer positivement, car vous le savez, qu'il est absolumment faux que dans la moindre chose j'ai separè mes interêts d'avec ceux de l'etat, et de ma nation; et ma conduite ne le dementira jamais la dessus.

"Le Conseil du Senat n'auroit fait rien de plus au premier de mars qu'au huit de fevrier; et la Diete n'auroit rien fait de mieux au mois de Juin qu'elle ne fera au mois d'Avril si l'Angleterre nous abandonne: Et en attendant l'augmentation journaliere des impôts de bleds et d'argent dont les trois cours nous accablent, l'extension des saisies dont leurs troupes s'emparent; et la fausse monnoie que les Prussiens continuent de repandre, sont des maux qui font jetter des hauts cris, non pas à moi, mais à la nation, qui sent absolumment une fin quelconque, et qui prête deja l'oreille aux insinuations des trois cours, et surtout du Roy de Prusse, qui par ses emissaires dit dans nos Provinces que c'est mon obstination contre ses vues qui aggrandit les malheurs de la Pologne, landis qu'il tient un langage si different dans d'autres päys.

" Faites moi voir des moyens de resistance, et vous 1772.
me verrez agir avec la même vigeur à la diete prochaine, qu' au conseil du Senat d'Octobre dernier. Si je plie, ce n'est pas parceque je suis en danger personellement, ou parceque je n'ai plus de quoi vivre; mais parceque les trois cours disent clairement qu'elles partageront le reste de la Pologne, si nous refusons à en signer le demembrement tel qu'il a ètè annoncè au mois de Septembre. Quand je leur objecte l'extension journaliere de ce demembrement, elles repondent, " si vous signez celui de Septembre le surplus vous sera rendu, mais en attendant ceci doit vous servir d'avertissement, et d'annonce du partage total si vous vous. y. refusez: Vous n'aurez ni tribunals ni justice, ni revenu jusqu à la diete, et apres la diete vous n'aurez même plus de Patrie, si vous resistez." Quand je leur parle de la suretè de ce peu qu'ils pretendent nous laisser encore, de la libertè de notre commerce, de l'amelioration de notre gouvernement, Benoit, (ministre Prussien) repond le moins; Stackleberg et Rzenriski (ministres Russe et Autrichien) me disent tout bas si vous signez de bonne grace le demembrement proposè nous vous donnerons du contentement sur ses objets, et nous y. engagerons le Roy de Prusse. Mais la Russie croit avoir besoin du Roy de Prnsse; l' Autriche le craint; qui sait donc si dans cette occasion les deux Imperatrices ne se laisseront pas dicter la loi par lui. Il a fait accroire à la Russie, que sans lui, elle n'obtiendra jamais des Turcs une paix telle qu'elle la desire: Malheureusement elle a attachè son point d' honneur à l'independance des Tartares,—à la proprietè

1772. de deux Fortresses dans la Crimèe ; au commerce sur la mer noire, et par là dans la mediterranèe ; et à un remboursement enorme pour les fraix de la guerre. Les trois premiers articles sont trop durs à digerer aux Turcs. Ce n'est cependant qu'apres qu'elle sera debaraseè de la guerre Turque qu'elle puisse brider le Roy de Prusse." Here the letter ends abruptly.

To return to affairs in England—* "At home Administration had carried everything with such irresistible force in the last session that Opposition seemed to be reduced to little more than a name: and could afford only a weak and unavailing dissent to measures which it was not capable of impeding; whilst its members were weary of fruitless exertions, in which the inequality was so great as scarcely to admit of a struggle. In this state of things it seemed as if nothing but disunion or intrigue in the cabinet was capable of obstructing the views, or endangering the security of the minister: and these, if there were such, were not of a sufficient magnitude to answer either of these purposes." Such is the description given by Mr. Burke of the political state of this period,—and he is an authority not easily gainsayed on this subject. It does not appear that Lyttelton took any part in the great measure which at this time chiefly engrossed the attention of Parliament—the readjustment and control of the affairs of the East India Company.

That the invitation to Hagley was renewed to Lord Chatham, appears from his answer, which follows here.

* Annual Register for 1773, chap. vi.

1773.

"Lyme Regis, June 21st, 1773.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"THE double favour of your Lordship's two letters came safe to me at this place, and I beg to offer thanks and acknowledgments more than two-fold for so kind an attention. I have been at Lyme almost a fortnight, breathing the purest and softest air imaginable; which, together with the frequent use of my horse, promises much benefit to me, in a state of limbs a good deal weakened. This necessary arrangement must, I fear, be of short duration, and will hardly admit of my gratifying my ardent wishes, to wait on your Lordship in Worcestershire, once more to enjoy with you the well-known beauties of *Old Hagley*, as well as to admire the charms and glories of the *new*. This unfortunate contretemps will be a plentiful source of regrets to more than myself, as Lady Chatham and the young tribe, so kindly remembered by your Lordship, must share the disappointment: my only resource is to hope that next summer may repay my loss in this. You cannot but smile, my dear Lord, at plans of future excursions in your co-æval in *years* and much your senior in *infirmities:* but ideas of good to come are the inexhaustible consolations of life, and I will indulge the best I may this pleasing vision; in the meantime, allow me, my dear Lord, to dwell with satisfaction on the flattering reality of knowing your Lordship's very friendly and kind wishes to receive so large an emigration from Somersetshire. I cannot conclude without begging to add that I regret the loss

1773. of an occasion to be introduced to the honour of Mrs. Lyttelton's acquaintance.

"I am, ever very affectionately,
"Your Lordship's most faithful and
"obedient humble Servant,
"CHATHAM.

"My two eldest boys, who are my companions here, beg to offer their best respects to your Lordship."

This amiable letter was the last ever written by this great man to his old and valued friend; for in truth the "co-æval in years" was not the "senior in infirmities." Lyttelton's bodily infirmities were less apparent but more fatal than those of Lord Chatham. He was enjoying the summer glories of his park, and the spacious comfort of the excellent mansion he had built at Hagley,* when he was seized with an internal disorder of which he died on the 22nd of August.† The circumstances of his last illness and death are thus related by Dr. Johnstone, a physician of Kidderminster, who attended him:—

"On Sunday evening the symptoms of his Lordship's disorder, which for a week past had alarmed us, put on a fatal appearance, and his Lordship believed himself to be a dying man. From this time he suffered by restlessness rather than pain, and though his nerves were apparently much fluttered, his mental faculties seemed stronger when he was thoroughly awake. His Lordship's bilious and hepatic com-

* See p. 662.

† His former friend, Lord Chesterfield, died on the 24th of March in this year.

plaints seemed alone not equal to the expected mournful event, his long want of sleep, whether the consequence of the irritation in the bowels, or, which is more probable, of causes of a different kind, accounts for his loss of strength and for his death very sufficiently. Though his Lordship wished his approaching dissolution not to be lingering, he waited for it with resignation. He said, 'It is a folly, a keeping me in misery, now to attempt to prolong life;' yet he was easily persuaded for the satisfaction of others to do or take anything thought proper for him. On Saturday he had been remarkably better, and we were not without some hopes of his recovery. On Sunday, about eleven in the forenoon, his Lordship sent for me, and said he felt a great melancholy, and wished to have a little conversation with me in order to divert it. He then proceeded to open the fountain of that heart from whence goodness had so long flowed, as from a copious spring. 'Doctor!' he said, 'you shall be my confessor: when I first set out in the world, I had friends who endeavoured to shake my belief in the Christian religion. I saw difficulties which staggered me, but I kept my mind open to conviction. The evidences and doctrines of Christianity, studied with attention, made me a most firm and persuaded believer of the Christian religion. I have made it the rule of my life, and it is the ground of my future hopes. I have erred and sinned, but have repented, and never indulged any vicious habit. In politics and in public life, I have made the public good the rule of my conduct. I never gave counsels which I did not at the time think the best. I have seen that I was sometimes in the wrong, but I did not

1773.

1773. err designedly. I have endeavoured, in private life, to do all the good in my power, and never for a moment could indulge malicious or unjust designs upon any person whatever.' At another time, he said, 'I must leave my soul in the same state it was in before this illness; I find this a very inconvenient time for solicitude about anything.' On the evening when the symptoms of death came on him, he said, 'I shall die; but it will not be your fault.' When Lord and Lady Valentia came to see his Lordship, he gave them this solemn benediction, and said, 'Be good, be virtuous, my Lord. You must come to this.' Thus he continued giving his dying benediction to all around him. On Monday morning a lucid interval gave some small hopes, but those vanished in the evening; and he continued dying, but with very little uneasiness, till Tuesday morning, August 22nd, when between seven and eight o'clock he expired almost without a groan."

On the 29th of August, Dr. Beattie wrote to the Earl of Kinnoull:—

"Mrs. Montagu's state of health is very indifferent: she complains of a feverish disorder, which has haunted her the greatest part of the summer. She is greatly afflicted at the death of our great and good friend, Lord Lyttelton. This event was unexpected; it is little better than a fortnight since I received a very kind letter from him. The loss to his friends and to society is unspeakable, and irreparable; to himself his death is infinite gain; for whether we consider what he felt here, or what he hoped for hereafter, we must

admit that no man ever had more reason to wish for a dismission from the evils of this transitory life. His Lordship died, as he lived, a most illustrious example of every Christian virtue. His last breath was spent in comforting and instructing his friends. 'Be good and virtuous,' said he to Lord Valentia,* 'for know that to this you must come.' The devout and cheerful resignation that occupied his mind during his illness, did not forsake him in the moment of dissolution, but fixed a smile on his lifeless countenance. I sincerely sympathise with your Lordship on the loss of this excellent man. Since I came last to town, I have had the honour and happiness to pass many an hour in his company, and to converse with him on all subjects: and I hope I shall be the better, while I live, for what I have seen and what I have heard of Lord Lyttelton."† 1773.

The day after the foregoing lines were written, Lord Chatham sent the following letter of condolence to Lyttelton's son and successor:—

"Burton Pynsent, August 30th, 1773.

"DEAR SIR,

"The most unexpected, afflicting account of the sad event at Hagley has filled all here with deep concern. Lady Chatham and I truly feel how great a loss you, my dear Sir, in particular, and all the family and friends of our departed truly virtuous friend have sustained, in the decease of Lord Lyttelton. The best consolation his friends can receive is from the reflection

* Who married Miss Lyttelton. See vol. i. p. 335.

† Forbes's Life of Beattie, page 292.

1773. that those virtues which endear his memory, rendered his last moments tranquil and full of comfort. The melancholy news found Mr. and Mrs. Hood here, whose feeling on this unhappy occasion her own letters will express. Your presence in the mournful scene of Hagley must be of the greatest utility to your whole family, however severe the trial. Lady Chatham desires to express by me her wishes, very sincerely united with mine, that your health may receive no impression from the loss you have sustained, and the sad offices in which you are engaged.

"I am, ever, with truest esteem,
"My dear Sir,
"Your faithful and affectionate humble Servant,
"CHATHAM.

"We beg you will be so good as to offer our due compliments."

So ended the mortal career of the subject of these memoirs. Some of his contemporaries had acquired a more brilliant, but none a more desirable reputation; it was built upon a sure foundation—the devotion of intellectual gifts, and attainments to their right end, "the glory of God, and the relief of man's estate."*

His natural abilities were good; and though not of the highest order, were continually strengthened by careful and unremitting cultivation. His ambition of improvement, springing from a deep sense of the obligations which wealth and station impose upon their possessor, was constant to the hour of his death—to press forward in the pursuit of knowledge, not di-

* Bacon's Advancement of Learning, book i.

verted from the chase by early success and extravagant admiration of moderate efforts; "to scorn delights, and live laborious days," had been the occupation of his life. Its fruits were visible in the variety of his accomplishments, and the fullness of his information upon the subjects to which he had devoted himself. During the course of his life he had maintained an oral or epistolary intercourse with the most celebrated persons of his day, both in England and Europe. Making ample allowance for the language of cotemporaneous flattery, it is impossible to ascribe to that alone the very general estimation in which his opinions were held by all who had any pretensions to almost any kind of literature. Nor indeed is the verdict of posterity greatly at variance with the judgment of his own time. Of how few can it be said, that they have left behind them works in History, Poetry, and Divinity, which after the lapse of nearly a century, maintain an honourable place in the literature of their country? And of how very few, that they combined with success in these pursuits, a laborious and distinguished share in the duties of public life? 1773.

The political scenes in which he had been an actor, were many and various. In the stormy debates which preceded the fall of Walpole, and whose subsiding fury overthrew the brief and baseless reign of Carteret—in the calm and wise administration of Pelham,—and in its enfeebled and fretful continuance under Newcastle, his services were meritorious and eminent, and fairly earned for him the distinction of the Peerage. Retiring, like other inferior luminaries during the meridian splendour of Pitt's glorious sway,

1773. he reappeared, and shone with a calm, steady, and useful light, during those perplexed events, and political intrigues, which obscure and disgrace the earlier part of the reign of George the Third. Throughout this period, his opinions seem to have been held in high esteem. He spoke upon several subjects of great public interest, and always with considerable effect; an homage paid partly, perhaps, to the unimpeachable reputation of the speaker, as well as to the merits of the speech; but the deliberate applause of so great a master of the art as Lord Chatham, and of so acute and invidious a critic as Horace Walpole, (to say nothing of other authorities,) would never have been bestowed upon one who had not great claims to oratorical fame.

Of his private character there can be but one opinion. Rejecting the degenerate standard of his age, he illustrated, in his practice, those nobler views, which he derived from the example of his ancestors, of the requisite education and attainments of an English gentleman. Sincerely and earnestly religious, when to be so was unfashionable, a devoted husband, an affectionate but unhappy father, never deserting his friend, ever opening his hand to distress in every form, he closed a wise and good life by an edifying death. He bequeathed to his posterity both the title which his public services had justly won, and the more valuable distinction which public opinion had prefixed to it, as the meed of his private character; and he is still remembered, with just admiration and respect, as "George, the good Lord Lyttelton."

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

I.

VARIOUS ways in which the name of Lyttelton is spelt in the oldest editions of "LITTLETON'S TENURES."

The name of the Author does not appear in either of these two editions.	Printed about 1480, by Letton and Machlinia.
	. . . . 1481, by Machlinia.
LETELTUN, on Title page LYTYLTON, on Colophon	. . year 1516, by Pynson.
LYTYLTON . LITILTON .	. . . . 1528, Do.
LYTTELTON . LYTTYLTON .	. . about 1550, by Redman.
LITTELTON .	. . . . year 1567.
LITTLETON . .	. . . . . 1577.

Drawn up by G. Appleyard, Esq., Secretary to Earl Spencer, from the old Editions of the Tenures at Spencer-House.

II.

THE following letter from Pope was accidentally omitted in the first volume. The date is uncertain, but it was probably about 1741, and the last letter which Lyttelton received from him. See pp. 185 and 232 of the first volume.

"DEAR SIR,

"OF all the kind opinions you entertain of me, there is one which I deserve, the opinion that I am sincerely yours; and that I love virtue for I love you and such as you: such are listed under her banners, they fight for her; Poets are but like Heralds, they can only proclaim her, and the best you can make of me, is that I am her poor Trumpeter.

"The Prince's visit to Lord Bathurst, was too quick for a letter which I intended him on that occasion. It was a letter of instructions, in what manner a great man should treat a Prince when fortune gives him the leading of one; especially if the Prince happens to be a little short-sighted: what things one should make him see and *how far?* what kind of notions to give him, of the extent, nature, and situation of the *land* about him?—above all, the two great arts so successfully practis'd by my lord on other people, and so much more useful to be practis'd on a Prince; that making him imagine what is highway or common field to all his subjects, to be his own walks and royalties, and that of imposing upon him what was the work of our own hands but yesterday, for the venerable structure of our ancestours.

"But I have something at present to tell you which is more material: the result of the conference with Sir W. W. and the disposition in which it left him.

"He seem'd strongly touched with a sense of the indignity, the folly, and the danger that attend the present state and

conduct of the Opposition. He feels (though a little unwilling to own it), that these are ow'd to a neglect of harkening five or six years ago to the warning a friend then gave him: who apprehended then what is now evident: viz. that the Opposition would be drawn off the original principle on which it was founded by two persons: one of whom never meant, and the other meant only by fits and starts the public good; and to that end a change of measures as well as of men: that these two persons would by their own overbearing and the indolence of others, get a sort of prescriptive right to a negative, in all proceedings: and that the Opposition by consequence would become nothing more than a bubble-scheme, wherein multitudes which intended the publick service, would be employed to no other purpose than to serve private ambition.

"He is fully persuaded that the part taken by his R. H. opens an opportunity of rectifying these errors, by retrieving and preventing these mischiefs: but thinks his R. H. should exert his whole influence, first to prepare and then to back the new measure, who, the moment it takes place, will be the head of the party, and those two persons cease so far to be that instant.

"That it is proper to continue to live with them however, in all the same terms of friendly intercourse, and with the ame appearance of intimacy: may so strengthen their plea to him, by shewing how extremely they have been trusted, deferred to, and comply'd with.

"That all persons, (many of which there certainly are), as may be determined to join in the pursuit of the *original measures* of the Opposition, should be so determin'd by all sorts of private application, whether (Whigs or Torys), but by no means apply'd to in the *collective body*, or too generally, but in separate conversations and arguments.

"That upon every important occasion, the things resolv'd upon should be pushed by the persons in this secret, how much

soever the others may hang off: which will reduce them to the dilemma, of joyning with the Court, or of following their friends with no good grace.

" Sir W. declared he had no difficulty of proceeding in this manner, nay thought on the contrary, that if Sir Tho. saw himself and any two or three old Members more, with the phalanx of young Members, led on such an opposition in a debate, they would be followed by *numbers even at first*, that these numbers would increase *every day*, that a new opposition would be thus created, or rather the old one reviv'd, and in a word, that this must be done, or nothing can be done by any man of sense or virtue.

" This you may depend is the present disposition of Sir W. in which you and Lord C. may certainly confirm him, if you throw oil not water, on it. That such a spirit should be raised in him, was the hint given me by the person in whose room you and I parted last. I see no harm if you had told him *who* has done thus much? but surely he must strongly be told *who* only can corroborate and render practicable the effects of it.

" Pray assure your Master of my duty and service: they tell me he has every body's love already. I wish him popular but not familiar, and the glory of being beloved, not the vanity of endeavouring it too much. I wish him at the head of the only good party in the kingdome, that of honest men: I wish him head of no other party. I think it a nobler situation, to be at the head of the best men of a kingdom, than at the head of any kingdom upon earth. For one is only a proof of his birth, the other of his merit. And God knows *neerly* to be popular, that is, to be at the head of a mob, (for partyes are but higher and more interested mobs), is as much below a Prince, as keeping low company is below a gentleman, though the first of the Club. And our people of England admire a King but as a clown does a squire. They are enough

to spoil a gude King, as the Scotsman said of them when they followed James the First. (This quotation Lord Bathurst sent me in a letter tother day, and it is a good one). Adieu, make my services to Lord Chesterfield, and take them yourself from

"Your sincere Servant,

"A. POPE."

III.

THE following fragment of a speech relates chiefly to the question of Triennial Parliaments. Having originally intended to confine these memoirs within the compass of a single volume, I did not print this fragment as I should otherwise have done in the first volume. See p 55 of vol. 1. The date of the speech is uncertain.

"First with regard to Triennial Parliaments. I shall readily own, that if there was reason to think that by this alteration Parliaments would be more purely chosen, or consist of members more independent, the change ought to be made, notwithstanding any inconvenience that may result from it in other respects. I shall therefore begin by considering the question in this light alone. Can any gentleman think that a Court would be less desirous to obtain a majority in a Parliament chosen for three years than in one chosen for seven; or that if they would use corruption for procuring it in the last, they would not employ the same means to procure it in the first? No doubt they would; because a majority chosen against them in a Triennial Parliament would be as effectual to overturn an administration as in a Septennial one, and therefore self-preservation would demand this security as much in one case as in the other. What then, would be the con-

sequence? Why, country gentlemen must be obliged to undergo the expence of contesting for their elections against the Court twice in seven years instead of once. Could their fortunes endure such a reiterated and redoubled charge? No, they must sink under the weight of it, or give up the contest: and what then will become of the freedom of Parliaments? But it may be said, that it will not be worth the while of a Court to bribe so high for the chusing a Parliament to serve only three years as for one to serve seven. Let us try the truth of that argument in another instance. Does not the Government at this very time pay as much levy money to those who list in the present exigence but for three years, or even for one, as they did before to those who listed for life? This may seem to offend the rule of proportion, but it is done because the Government stands in need of their service, and must have it at any rate. May there not be a necessity of another kind, but equally strong, which may induce a bad Administration, and against a bad one only we are providing, to be as profuse of their levy money for the engaging of members into their service in a Triennial Parliament as in a Septennial one? And will they not in this case, as we see it is done in the other, measure the degree of expence, not by the length or duration of the engagement, but by the degree of their own danger and present necessity?

"If then it does not appear that this alteration will lessen the expense of elections to Parliament, unless by a total acquiescence and yielding them up to the will of the Court, how many other inconveniences are sure to attend it I need not explain; they must be sensible to every gentleman's mind. I will touch only on one, which I think of the greatest importance. It is the first article of my political creed that this country cannot be delivered from the various evils it now labours under, at home and abroad, but by a cordial union of all honest men in the public service, without distinction of parties. It is certainly so. All the virtue and wisdom that is

now in the nation, united together and acting conjointly to the same end, is not too much—I pray God it may be sufficient—to save the nation. Now, Sir, how much that necessary union may be obstructed by the unavoidable heats and animosities that attend on general elections to Parliament, I leave those to judge that are most conversant in scenes of that nature, and know how much harder it is to establish anything like coalition upon those occasions than anywhere else. As to annual Parliaments, that would be a still more violent change, and God knows what inconveniences it might produce. I will mention but one, to show that instead of procuring more freedom to Parliaments, it might very possibly destroy all freedom there. What if a Court should, by its influence over returning officers, obtain a majority in an Annual Parliament by false returns? Before a tenth part of those returns could be tried, there would be an end of the Parliament, and in the mean while all the business of the Court would be done by the majority so obtained. But if this could be obviated, numberless other difficulties would certainly occur to make such an alteration either wholly impracticable or exceedingly dangerous. In answer to this we are told, that Annual Parliaments were a part of our old Constitution. I allow that they were, during some periods, though it was not the general course; but does it follow from thence that we ought to return to them now? No, by no means. I could name many parts of our old Constitution, that it would neither be wise nor safe for us to revert to again in the present state of our Government—many that not only the character of the people of England, but the genius itself of our present Constitution would not be able to bear. We have a free Government as much as our ancestors, probably more, but though it is founded upon the same principles, we have it in many respects under a different form, and the form being changed, so must the methods by which it must be preserved. Indeed the wisest states have adhered to the

principles, but varied the laws by which they were governed, according to those variations which time introduced into their circumstances, bending the rules of their policy to the disposition and order and harmony of things; not vainly and obstinately trying to bend the form of their state to those ancient rules which were established under a different form, and suited to that alone. For want of considering this, there is a modern republic which has brought itself almost to the brink of destruction by adhering tenaciously to one original part of its Constitution, when other circumstances are changed, I mean the United Provinces. In the original frame of their government every town, in every province, has a negative voice, and nothing of moment can be concluded without the unanimous consent of the whole. At first this was not attended with any great inconvenience, because their people were uncorrupted, because they were animated with a strong spirit of liberty, which made them unanimous in all great affairs, and because they had then the power of a Stadtholder to awe, and keep down all factions, and to cement and knitt together undistinct aristocracies, of which their state is composed. But what happens now? Corruption has got among them—flagrant corruption; the spirit of liberty is mixed with a spirit of faction; and there is no longer a Stadtholder to prevent or overrule their divisions; so that the best, the most salutary, the most necessary measures are often obstructed by the opposition of one single town, perhaps the least in the province: an opposition fomented, and sometimes bought, by their worst enemies. Sir, I am assured, that a late very great man in that commonwealth bequeathed it on his death bed, as his last advice to his country, either to restore the office of Stadtholder, or take away the negative voice of the small towns. Because the one without the other was hurtful, and might be pernicious. Now, Sir, to apply this directly to the question before us. The statute of Edward the 3rd, which declares that a Parliament ought to be holden once every year, or oftener if necessary, if

you understand it as I do, not only of Annual Sessions, but Annual Elections, there being no prorogation known till the 21st of Henry the VIIIth, that law, I say, might consist very well with the whole state of our Government then, but can we infer from thence that it would do so now? Are our electors —are the people of England as uncorrupted now as they were in those days, or is there now in the Crown the same strength of prerogative to balance the factions and temper the ferment which such a law might introduce under the present corruptions? No, Sir, there is not; and I hope there will never again be such a weight of power in the Crown as there was in those days. But, on the other hand, would the reviving this law revive the ancient manners again—the same love of order, the same respect to the laws, the same reverence of Government, the same sense of religion as this country was blest with in the reign of Edward the 3rd? or would it give us the spirit, the honesty, the noble simplicity of our old Saxon ancestors, in their annual Witenagemotes?—supposing those assemblies to be annual, which I very much doubt. If it would, Sir, it would be a blessed alteration indeed. But, alas! the causes of our corruptions are much too various, and extended too far, to lie in the reach of any one remedy; nor do I think this would help it in any degree; it would rather, I fear, make it worse. I could pursue this argument a great deal further. I could show how many great reformations ought to be made, which yet it would be impracticable to make at present, before this alteration could have a chance of producing any one good; whereas the evils it would produce are certain and terrible, no less, indeed, than anarchy itself, till the ferment subsided into absolute power. But I am afraid of tiring the house, and therefore I rest it upon the arguments I have already used."

IV.

THIS Speech was also omitted, for the same reason as the fragment on Triennial Parliaments in the First volume, see p. 230, vol. i.

"On a motion to censure the issuing and paying £40,000 to the Duke of Aremberg, in the year 1742.

"MR. SPEAKER,

"I took the liberty some time ago to make you a motion concerning the payment of Forty Thousand pounds, to the Duke of Aremberg, for putting the Austrian troops in motion in the year '42, which I thought at that time, upon the face of the article, as it then stood in the account brought into this house, to be a dangerous misapplication of public money, and destructive to the rights of Parliament.

"The opinion, Sir, of this House was not then taken upon that point; it was put off by a previous question, the debate was adjourned, and several papers relative to it have since been brought in, and you have now heard them read as the authorities upon which this money was paid: Sir, from those papers themselves, from those very authorities, I am more strongly confirmed in my former opinion, that it was done without law, against law, not only against one single law, but against the whole spirit and genius of this Constitution.

But before I proceed to observe any further upon this evidence, I beg leave to remind you, that all the money granted by Parliament, for the year '42, had been tied down by the most strict appropriation; and that besides a very great army, kept up for her service abroad; besides a powerful fleet in the Mediterranean, assisting her there, no less a sum than £500,000 had been given that year to the Queen of Hungary, £300,000 of which was for her own immediate use, and the

rest for her ally, the King of Sardinia: so that this house had judged how far it was proper for this nation to go, as an auxiliary power, in the support of an ally, and judged, Sir, allow me to say, not with the sparing frugality of an old English Parliament, but with such a profuse liberality, as this country will feel for years to come. Yet notwithstanding that judgment of Parliament, notwithstanding the fetters laid on the Ministry, as strong as the power of Parliament could possibly lay, they did think fit by their own transcendant authority, to superadd the gift of Forty Thousand pounds more, out of their own grace, and bounty, at the expence of the people of England!

" Sir, it is impossible not to take notice upon the hearing these papers read, how very imperfect, how very obscure, how very lame they seem to be as to the methods, and forms, by which this money was paid. It is said in Lord Stair's letter to my Lord Carteret of November 24th, that but eighteen thousand five hundred pounds had then been paid of the forty thousand given by the King; and yet a receipt had been signed the 17th of October, by the Duke of Aremberg and M. de Nobilly for £20,000, paid by the deputy paymaster upon a warrant drawn by Lord Stair. What can be the meaning of this contradiction? It is likewise declared in His Majesty's warrant for allowing that article in the accounts of the Paymaster General, that forty thousand pounds had been paid in two equal payments, of twenty thousand pounds each, by his deputy at Amsterdam, for putting the Austrian troops in motion, out of money remitted by him for that purpose, pursuant to the orders, and warrants of the Earl of Stair; and yet it does not appear how the Paymaster General had been empowered to comply with those warrants, or that he had in his hands any money at all, for the use of the Queen of Hungary. These are the strange inconsistencies and irregularities which, from the papers now on your table, appear in this transaction, irregularities unheard of before; but whatever

excuse may be given for them—if all the forms of office had been observed with the utmost exactness in the issuing this money, if the methods of doing it had been ever so regular, the act itself, would still be illegal; because the Crown can give no authority which is not in itself, and the disposal of public money, against the express appropriation of Parliament, is not in the Crown. It would be just as agreeable to our Constitution for you, Sir, to issue out warrants in the name of this house, directing the motions of His Majesty's army in Flanders, as for any officers of the Crown, civil, or military, to issue out warrants, or for the King himself to give directions for the disposing of money granted by Parliament, to other uses than those for which it was granted. If these separate powers break in upon one another, there is an end of the form of our Government, and not the form alone, but the whole substance, and vital spirit of it is lost. This is so clear a point, that I should think it misspending your time to dwell on it longer; it only remains to be considered, what could induce an Administration, that had any reverence for the laws of their country, any respect for the rights of Parliament, or any awe of its power, to take such an act as this upon themselves! What were the mighty services that were performed in the year '42, or so much as attempted to be performed, the prodigious importance of which was so irresistible to the minds of our Ministers, as to bear down before it all the fences and bulwarks of this Constitution?

"Sir,—We are told in Lord Stair's letter of July the 13th, that the Duke of Aremberg had represented to him, that the Queen of Hungary was in so great distress for want of money, he was afraid she might very soon not be in a condition to make the weekly payments to her troops, and therefore his Lordship proposes, that the King should assist her Hungarian Majesty as he should think proper, either in the shape of an additional subsidy, or as a part of the subsidies to be granted another year. It does not appear that to this any answer at all was made by our Court, or that the demand was

ever renewed; so that we are to conclude, the Queen of Hungary did pay her troops without any further assistance from us; that want was supplied some other way, and has nothing to do with the question before us. About six weeks after, another demand was made upon a very different foot: it was then for the forming a body of Hussars, for the mounting of cannon, and for other uses not specified there. This is, with some variations, pursued and explained by my Lord Stair, in a letter dated September 1st, which has a memorial inclosed, containing particulars of the expences that would be necessary, for enabling the Queen of Hungary's forces to act in concert with ours, according to the project concerted at the Hague, and approved by his Majesty, all which particulars amounted together upon a very extraordinary computation in most of the articles, to the round sum of Forty Thousand pounds. Sir, what this project was, we are entirely left in the dark: whether it was a practicable scheme, whether in a political view it bore the appearance of being usefull, or hurtfull to England, whether it might not tend to draw us in to make ourselves principals in a war with France without the Dutch, and before we had been attacked by that crown, what was the nature, or object of it, is wholly concealed from us; but this we know, that the money was paid upon that account. Even the last payment made so very late as the 2nd of January, was not for any new service to be performed, but as an arrear due upon what had been granted for the operations projected the autumn before,* though the project itself had been quite dropt for several months, and had never proceeded to any one operation at all. It is also very remarkable, that although this money is said to be indispensably necessary for enabling the Austrian forces to act, no part of it was paid till the 17th of October, when the season for action was in great measure already past, so that, supposing the project to be a good one, it must have been spoilt by this delay, and when it was spoilt, then the money was paid.

* See Letter, 24th November.

"Sir, I have now gone through the whole matter contained in the very surprising defence of this very surprising transaction. We only can judge upon what we know; and, as far as appears to us, nothing was done in the Netherlands, nothing attempted, in the year '42, which could have justified the application of publick money to any purposes there, even under the sanction of a vote of credit: I say, Sir, it would have been misapplying the credit given by Parliament, had any been given, to have paid Forty Thousand pounds of English money, over and above our other great subsidies, for the sake of the motions made by the Austrian troops in that part of the world, through the whole course of the year '42. And yet—Good God! those motions, of which scarce any footstep is to be found, they are to justify paying this money not only without the authority, but against the express direction of Parliament!

"Sir, I have read in history of a great General, I think it was Epaminondas, who having ventured to protract his command three or four months beyond the time prescribed by the laws, and being to answer for that offence, confest himself guilty, and ready to suffer the penalty he had incurred, which by their Constitution was capital, but only desired, that the great things he had done for his country in those four months might be inscribed upon his tomb. This was the noblest defence that could be made of an illegal act, and his country did well in forgiving him upon the strength of it, because the things he had done were great indeed. But I will venture to say, that if the honourable persons concerned in this illegal proceeding, have no better inscription to putt upon their monuments than the exploits of the Austrians in the year '42, they will not be entitled to any place in Westminster Abbey, however they may to one in Westminster Hall.

"Sir, had the service for which this money was paid, been ever so clearly advantageous to England, yet the manner of doing it in direct opposition to the law of the land, the danger

of setting a precedent, even upon fair and plausible motives, which might be hereafter abused to the utter destruction of our most sacred constitutional rights, would have been always enough to make a good and a wise Minister tremble: but to let the name of a project, a mere abortion, which never was ripened into any effect, to let this overthrow the most essential forms of our government, to let it dispense with the most binding laws, to let it shake the foundations upon which the whole power of Parliament stands, is the most dangerous act of ministerial presumption,—is the most wanton usurpation of power that can be conceived; take it in all its circumstances, consider the time, the manner, the motives, the consequences, the long concealment of it from the knowledge of Parliament; a whole Session past over without one word being said of it, a Bill of Extraordinaries brought into this House, and no sort of notice taken of it there, putt all this together, I will be bold to affirm it is the most daring attack upon Parliament that ever any Ministry has ventured to make, which was resolved to carry prerogative to the highest excess, and to depress this House into the lowest degree of subjection.

"Sir, what is the reason that Votes of Credit have always been thought such dangerous things by all lovers of liberty?—the reason is this, because they give too great a facility of squandering away the publick money upon improper, or trifling demands; whereas when Ministers act without such an authority to screen their profusion, they act at their own peril, and nothing less than the most evident and pressing necessity, ought to be ever admitted as a defence for any issues of public money so illegally made: but if they may be defended by the bare requisition of an ally, or of a general, if it is justification enough to say upon such an occasion, 'the money was given because it was askt, and we suppose it was askt because it was necessary,'—there will then be no need of Votes of Credit for the sheltering of Ministers; this will be giving them a greater facility to misapply public money, than even the largest and

most unlimited Vote of Credit cou'd possibly give; it is a dispensing power lodged in their hands, which they will use at discretion; whenever we ask an account of any sum disposed of in this new manner, the same ready answer will always occur, and if we approve it now, there can be no doubt but that it will always meet with the same approbation.

"Sir, I will not say that the honourable persons who have concurred in this extraordinary act, might not have done it with good intentions as to his Majesty's service abroad: but good intentions are no defence of illegal proceedings in high matters of Government. It is the condition of slaves to depend upon the intentions of those who govern them: we have a better security than good intentions, we have good laws, we have the forms of a free Government, which are so many barrs against the danger of mal-administration; but if we suffer them to be broke, whenever our Ministers think proper to plead their good intentions, we give up the advantages of our Constitution, we no longer enjoy the distinguishing privileges of a free people.

"Sir, what the force would be of a real, apparent, important necessity to vindicate this or any other extraordinary act, I shall not dispute: all the restraints of a free Government, how stubborn soever, must bend to that, because if they did not bend, they would break; but are they therefore to bend to every idle breath of a Minister, to every light demand made under that name. No—God forbid!—if once you admitt of such a plea, if once you trifle with the pretence of necessity, you trifle with your destruction.

"Sir, when necessity itself does come upon us, there is no help, we must compound with it as well as we can; but that is an enemy which will seldom attack us; our much more constant danger will be from the name of necessity, it is that name we ought to dread, it is that against which we shou'd be always on our guard; for from the fatal abuse of that name, almost all the Governments, ancient or modern, that had any resem-

blance to ours, have been overturned. I cou'd prove this from Rome, I cou'd prove it from France, I cou'd prove it from Burgundy, and from Castile; I heartily wish that posterity may not be able to prove it from England too. The Constitution, Sir, of this country has, I am afraid, been long undermined; but a more open war is made on it now: to the secret attempts, to the dark work of corruption, is added the violence of an encroaching prerogative; the most dangerous engine of absolute power, a pretended necessity is beginning to play upon our liberties; the breach is already made; but, thank God, we are yet in a capacity of defending that breach, of dismounting that engine, if we have spirit enough to do our duty. At least, Sir, I shall have the comfort of having done mine, by calling upon you to the support of your rights, and trying to wake that spirit of Parliament, which has slumber'd too long under the insults offer'd to your authority. It is with this view, it is with this hope, that I repeat to you now the motion I made you some time agoe—a motion supported and strengthened by that very evidence, which has been brought to justify the matter complained of: I therefore humbly move, that the issuing and paying to the Duke of Aremberg the sum of Forty Thousand pounds, to putt the Austrian troops in motion, anno 1742, was a dangerous misapplication of public money, and destructive to the rights of Parliament."

V.

The following speech was delivered, according to the date, early in 1744, and it appears to have been on a motion brought forward by Lyttelton himself. He spoke on similar motions of Pulteney and Lord Limerick in March, 1742, but I have not been able to find any trace of the debate in which this speech was made. Nor was I aware of its existence till quite lately; for it had been accidentally omitted in the Hagley MSS. originally laid before me, and was sent to me after the first volume was printed It is like the other speeches, written throughout in Lyttelton's handwriting—see vol. i. p. 212.

"Speech for renewing the inquiry into the conduct of the Earl of Orford, during the last ten years of his administration. Anno: D. 1743-4.

"Mr. Speaker,

"I rise up to make you a motion, the importance of which I take to be such, that it deserves your attention in preference to all other business, as much as the satisfaction of the whole people of England, the reputation and honour of Parliament, the support of national justice, and the preservation of this Constitution are above all other considerations.

"Sir, so far as this motion, which I am going to make, affects the person of that Noble Lord who is concern'd in it, I do it with pain, and with reluctance; but as I am convinc'd it is essentially necessary to all those great ends I have mentioned, I must now, and I hope I always shall, as long as I sitt in this House, acquitt myself of the duty I owe to my country, preferably to all other regards whatsoever. And allow me to say, that nothing less than the most pressing sense of that duty, cou'd have imposed that task upon me which I am now about to perform: for though justice requires it, though the nation demands it, yet the pursuing a particular

man has something in it painfull to one's own mind; and which may appear to others in a disagreeable light: but I trust to my future conduct to convince the world that no personal motives, no private enmity, no malignity of temper inspire me upon this occasion, but singly that zeal for the publick, by which our actions here must be directed, or the trust reposed in us betray'd.

"Sir, this House thought proper, last Session, out of a due regard to the unanimous sense of the nation, to begin an enquiry into the conduct of a great Minister, the Earl of Orford, during the ten last years of his administration. That enquiry, Sir, was then grounded upon no other foundation, than the public and flagrant notoriety of the bad situation of our affairs, and the suspicions arising from thence of great mismanagements at home and abroad; but so strong did those general reasons appear, so well were they supported by every gentleman who had opposed the late Administration, and so much regard was paid at that time to their weight and authority, that the House resolved to enquire; and was backt in that resolution by a more universal assent of mankind without doors, than I ever remember to have attended any proceeding of Parliament.

"In order to carry on this enquiry with more effect, and greater dispatch, a secret Committee was then appointed, to which were delegated those Parliamentary powers, that are essentially necessary to the investigation of publick offences, especially such as are of the most secret and dangerous nature. But it quickly appeared by repeated and sensible proof, that those powers cou'd not be exercis'd in so effectual a manner as the publick service required, without the assistance of the whole Legislature. That assistance, therefore, was askt by this House, but it was denied to us, I will not presume to guess for what reasons. Unwilling evidences (and most were unwilling ones who were brought before the Committee), were left in possession of a perpetual plea for hiding all that they

had no mind to tell, under a real, or a pretended apprehension of the risk they might run in accusing themselves; and out of the few that might have been willing ones, several, no doubt, were deterred from it by the same difficulty. Thus the House was reduced to the dilemma, either of breaking through natural justice, in forcing men to endanger themselves by their own evidence; or of suffering truths to be concealed from them of the highest importance to the whole state, at the discretion of those whom they had a right to interrogate, and whose silence wou'd have been criminal, and, therefore, punishable, had that objection of danger been taken away. What a check this was to the enquiry, how near a total extinction of it I need not say; the thing speaks itself: but I wish I cou'd say that only this check had been given to it! I wish I cou'd say that even a higher authority than that which denied the Bill of Indemnity had not been used to stop the enquiry in one of its most material parts! A day may come when it will be proper to say a great deal more upon this article, but I restrain myself now, and only mention it to shew, with how many obstacles the enquiry was clog'd at that time. Yet under all these discouragements, under this load of difficulty, did the Committee form a Report, which lies now upon your table, containing matters of as alarming a nature as ever excited the attention and dread of a free people: an application, Sir, of the power, the influence, the offices of government to the most fatal purpose of invading and tainting the freedom of your elections; a profusion of publick money almost incredible; methods of issuing and receiving that money no less unprecedented, and a suspicion of the use that was made of it so glaringly strong, leading directly to facts so dangerous, so destructive to liberty, and to the fundamental rights of this nation, that it is impossible for any man not hardened to slavery, to consider the consequences of it without horror, I cou'd almost say without despair of the Commonwealth! Such, Sir, was this Report, struck out of that darkness, which corruption and fraud had

spread over the objects of your enquiry, without any of those lights and assistances, which willing offices and favouring courts have usually given to other enquiries of the same nature, carried on against Ministers, who were really and truly removed out of the sanctuary of power; all those helps were wanting; and surely, it does most strongly appear how great occasion there was for an enquiry, when so much cou'd be produced out of one obstructed and crampt by so many difficulties. Nor is it a little honour to those worthy gentlemen who were the members of the secret Committee, that their application, conduct, and knowledge of business, cou'd supply so many wants, and advance so far through such embarrassing and unusual impediments.

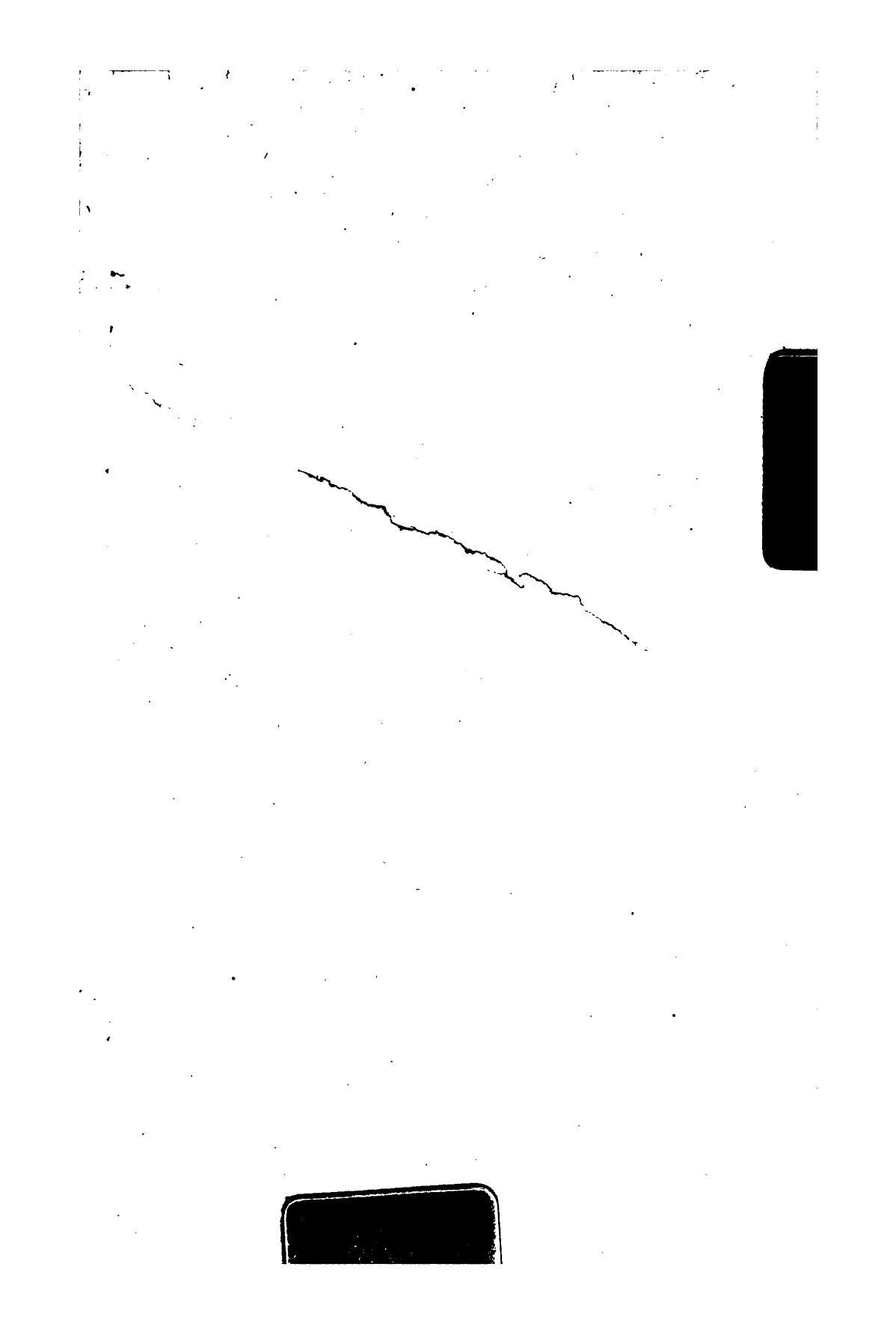
"Sir, this Report being made, the Committee proceeded to an examination of a different kind, but of equal importance, in which the honour and trade of the nation were as deeply concerned, as its liberty was in the other; I mean the papers relating to the Convention: an enquiry free from some of those difficulties that had obstructed the other, and therefore likely to have been more effectual: an enquiry necessary to retrieve the reputation of a magnanimous people, brought under the reproach of pusillanimity by those transactions; an enquiry, which not England alone, but all Europe expected of this present Parliament, as the best pledge we cou'd give to the world of our resolution to come into no peace with Spain, inconsistent with the rights of the nation, and the honour and dignity of the English name. But in the midst of this examination, while the expectations of all men were rais'd, and fix'd on the event of it, the royall prerogative was interposed, the King was advised to putt an end to the existence of the secret Committee by proroguing the Parliament.

Need I say any more? Do the facts I have related want any comment? Does not every gentleman already anticipate the motion I am going to make? It was objected last year, that we wanted foundations for an enquiry: Will any man

living tell us so now? If we have not before us now enough to demand a Parliamentary inquest, then, Sir, I am sure that part of our duty is a mere empty name without any meaning, and can never be exercis'd by us at all. What excuse cou'd we make to the people of England for stopping here? In my poor apprehension, not to pursue an enquiry, that has opened to us such matters as these, wou'd be as strange a neglect, as if a man who had found a train of gunpowder laid under his house, should go to sleep in quiet security, instead of examining how far it reached, what mischief and ruin it might occasion, or by what means the guilty person who laid it might be discover'd, and brought to justice. Nay, Sir, the case is as much stronger here, as the safety of a whole nation is a greater object than that of a private family.

"I must therefore suppose that it will be very unnecessary to take up more of your time upon this subject, than just to make it my humble motion—

"That a Committee be appointed to enquire into the conduct of Robert, Earl of Orford, during the ten last years of his being Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury."

THE END.

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